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A

COMPENDIOUS HISTORY

OF

NEW ENGLAND

FROM THE

DISCOVERY BY EUROPEANS

TO THE

First General Congress of the Anglo-American Colonies

BY

JOHN GORHAM PALFREY

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. 1

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TO

M. A. P.

IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE

OF

THE HAPPINESS OF FIFTY YEARS.

J. G. P.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS;
1873, March 11.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The first two volumes of this work were published seven years ago. The first three volumes appeared last August, under the title of "A Compendious History of the First Century of New England." The fourth volume, now first issued, completes the execution of my plan. I do not propose to extend the work beyond the period already surveyed in these four volumes.

The last chapter of the book is not embraced in the title, and does not pretend to be so much as a compendious history of the time therein treated. But the reader may find it convenient as a slight summary of the events which immediately preceded the War of Independence.

Cambridge, Massachusetts;
1873, March.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST TWO VOLUMES.

Of the periods of past New England history each consisting of eighty-six years, the third has lately closed. In the year 1602 the Englishman Bartholomew Gosnold built a house on land now belonging to Massachusetts, and in the spring of 1603 the family of Stuart came to the throne of Great Britain. On the 19th of April, 1689, the imprisonment, by the people, of the Royal Governor, marked the First Revolution in New England. On the 19th of April, 1775, the Second Revolution was inaugurated by the fight at Lexington and Concord. On the 19th of April, 1861, at the opening of the Third Revolution, which was to rescue the country from the domination of the Slave Power, Massachusetts troops fought their way through a city of Maryland to the relief of the National Capital.

Through the first two of these periods, and through more than half of the third, the English inhabitants of New England continued to be a remarkably homogeneous people. Since the year

1830, there has been a large immigration, — chiefly of Irish, and, next in number to them, of Germans. Down to that time the population consisted, with very few exceptions, of the descendants of twenty-one thousand Puritan Englishmen, who had come over before the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640. Through six generations, this peculiar people, singularly sequestered from foreign influences, was forming a distinct character by its own discipline, and working out its own problems within an isolated sphere.

The economical progress of New England has been marvellous. Massachusetts, of which the recent statistics have been more carefully collected than those of any other of the six States, presents a sufficient example. The soil of Massachusetts is barren, and she has no natural staple commodity of great value in the markets of the world. Yet at the present time, two centuries and a third from the date of her foundation, her taxable property — exclusive of property belonging to institutions of religion, education, and benevolence — amounts to a thousand millions of dollars. Equally divided, it would afford more than eight hundred and eighty dollars each to every man, woman, and child within her borders. From the reserved fruits of the labor of seven generations she could give a dol

ar to each individual of the thousand millions of the inhabitants of the earth, and still have all her schools, meeting-houses, town-houses, alms-houses, gaols, and literary, benevolent, and scientific institutions left as nest-eggs to begin the world anew." The value of the registered products of the labor of her people for the year ending June 1, 1855, — undoubtedly falling far short of the actual amount, — was two hundred and ninety-five millions eight hundred and twenty thousand six hundred and eighty-one dollars.

New England, in the political relations which through her brief history she has sustained, has not been inactive nor unimportant. In her primitive weakness she kept her lands for the mother country against Dutch plotters on one border and French on the other. From the massacre at Schenectady in 1690 to the fall of Quebec in 1759, her men and money upheld the British empire in America against the encroachments of the rival monarchy. Her seemingly Quixotic, but magnificently successful enterprise against the French post of Louisburgh, in 1745, was not only the single event creditable to the arms of England in the war of the Austrian succession, but it gave peace to Europe. Adopting for the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the basis of the *status ante bellum*, England bought

back with the retrocession of Louisburgh to France the conquests which the more fortunate arms of her enemy had been wresting from her on the other side of the water. In 1757, during the last inter-colonial war, nearly one third part of the effective men of Massachusetts were in the field, and taxes on real estate in Boston amounted to two third parts of the rents. In 1759, the General Court of that colony excused themselves to Governor Pownall for not being more liberal by referring to the fact that the military service of the preceding year had cost a million of dollars.*

But such are not the greatest benefactions for which England is indebted to the community that bears her name. To the Puritans the Tory historian Hume ascribed the liberty of England. But the Puritans never struck decisively for English freedom, till Independency obtained the control of the Parliament and the army in 1645; and it was the pens of learned ministers living in New England that in Old England raised Independency to that position of command. It was Hooker of Connecticut, and Cotton, and Shepard, and Allen, and Norton, and Mather, of Massachusetts, that organized the victories of Fairfax and Cromwell. In

* Minot, Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, ii. 37, 49.

former times this relation was understood, however now forgotten. "We may look for England in England, and find nothing but New England." "The Scots at Newcastle, to whom the King retired for safeguard, had a brave occasion to show faith and loyalty; but they kept their wont, and sold their master, as Judas did his to the Jews, to the race of New England, the *Independent* salvages." * These words of the Tory bishop Hacket present, with his own coloring, a specimen of a class of facts familiar to his contemporaries, though they have since slipped out of the histories.

The preparation for separate national existence had nowhere in the colonies an earlier date than in New England; and on her soil the War of American Independence began. Of the Continental troops and militia registered in the war-office as having served in that contest, the States of New England, then four in number, furnished no fewer than 147,704, while only 71,140 were sent to the field by the six States south of the Potomac. Massachusetts alone contributed 83,092 men, or about twelve thousand more than the aggregate contributions of the six Southern States. So, alike in time and in efficiency, the people of New England were leaders in that movement which has

* Scrinia Reserata, etc., 78, 203.

lately issued in the deliverance of the United States of America from the unspeakable curse of slavery; and to the armies and fleets that overthrew the despotism of the Slave Power she supplied not fewer than three eighth parts of a million of fighting men.*

It is to the first of the three periods of the past history of New England that the present work relates. It tells the primitive story of a vast tribe of men, numbering at the present time, it is likely, some nine or ten millions. Exactness in such an estimate is not attainable, but it would probably be coming somewhere near the truth to divide the present white population of the United States into three equal parts, — one, belonging to the New

* The figures, as stated in reports of the Adjutant-Generals of the several States, are as follows; namely, —

Massachusetts	155,234
Maine	71,500
Connecticut	54,468
Vermont	34,555
New Hampshire	33,258
Rhode Island	24,278
	373,293

But the tables of the Adjutant-Generals of Connecticut and New Hampshire are brought down no further than to April, 1865, and those of the Adjutant-General of Maine include nothing of that year.

England stock; another, the posterity of Englishmen who settled in the other Atlantic colonies; and a third, consisting of the aggregate of Irish, Scotch, French, Dutch, German, Swedish, Spanish, and other immigrants, and their descendants. According to the United States Census of 1860, the New England States had in that year 3,135,283 inhabitants, of which number 469,338 were of foreign birth. On the other hand, not much fewer than a million of natives of New England, — often persons not inconsiderable in respect to activity, property, or influence, — were supposed to be living in other parts of the Union, at the beginning of the late civil war. The New England race has contributed largely to the population of the great State of New York, and makes a majority in some of the new States further west. Considerable numbers of them are dispersed in distant parts of the world, where commerce or other business invites enterprise, though they do not often establish themselves for life in foreign countries. I presume there is one third of the white people of these United States, wherever now residing, of whom no individual can peruse these volumes without reading the history of his own progenitors.

Boston, Massachusetts;
November 4, 1865.

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HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

THE SETTLEMENT.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS.

The name *New England* has at different times been used to designate regions of very different extent. At an early period of the English colonization it denoted only the settlements within and near to Boston harbor. Fifty years later, it was given by a royal decree to the whole tract of country stretching along the border of the Atlantic Ocean from the peninsula of Nova Scotia to Delaware Bay. In present use, the name stands for the six States of the American Union that lie furthest to the northeast; namely, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

These States cover about two third parts of what may be regarded as a great peninsula, which is joined to the continent by a narrow isthmus between the River St. Lawrence and the upper waters of Hudson's River, and which would be

converted into an island if the isthmus were depressed only one hundred and forty feet more. New England extends through six degrees of latitude, about midway between the equator and the north pole, and from the sixty-seventh degree of west longitude to the seventy-fourth.

It is probable that New England was visited by Europeans before the voyage of Columbus to the West Indies. There is reason to believe, that, as early as about the end of the tenth century, some adventurous navigators from Iceland landed on the American shore; and there are circumstances pointing to the country about Massachusetts Bay and Narragansett Bay as the region which they visited. But their voyages, if repeated, were after no long time discontinued; and for five centuries more this country remained unknown to the Eastern world.

Five years had passed after the first voyage of Columbus to the West Indies, when John Cabot and his son Sebastian, mariners of Bristol in England, on a voyage expected by them to terminate at the eastern coast of Asia, were arrested by the American shore of Labrador or Newfoundland. Changing their course towards the southwest, they sailed in that direction as far as the thirty-eighth degree of north latitude, and probably saw the headlands of Maine and Massachusetts.

1497. June 24.

Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese, followed in nearly the same track. The Florentine

1500-1501.

Verrazzano, in the service of King Francis the First of France, discovered what is now called Hudson's River, and for several days anchored his vessel in Narragansett Bay. 1524. The Spaniard, Stephen Gomez, in quest of the Northwest passage, for the Emperor Charles the Fifth, is believed to have sailed near to Cape Cod, and through Long Island Sound. 1525.

The fishing grounds of America had now attracted attention and enterprise. Hundreds of French, English, Portuguese, and Spanish fishing-vessels met on the banks of Newfoundland. At length, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the spirit of maritime adventure, so vigorously developed at that time in England, prompted a project for establishing a colony on the continent of America. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, received from the Queen a patent empowering him to discover, possess, and govern all remote heathen and barbarous countries not occupied by any Christian people. With two hundred and sixty men, embarked in five vessels, he reached the harbor of St. Johns in Newfoundland, and, in the name of the sovereign of England, took formal possession of the country for two hundred leagues around. 1583. Aug. 5. Sickness broke ou among his men. Some died. Many deserted. In search of provisions, or for further discovery, he pu⁺ to sea again. Aug. 20. In a storm the little vessel which conveyed him went to the bottom with all her company. Another Sept. 9.

of his vessels had been wrecked before. The rest of the five now returned to England.

Raleigh obtained a renewal to himself of Gilbert's patent. He was disabled from using it by his recently frustrated attempts to found a colony on the Roanoke; but, with his consent, the Earl of Southampton fitted out a small vessel, under the command of Bartholomew Gosnold, for exploration in "the north part of Virginia." Gosnold
1602. March 26. sailed from Falmouth with a company of thirty-two persons, of whom eight were seamen, and twenty were to become planters. His voyage across the ocean occupied seven weeks. He looked into Massachusetts Bay, and landed on the extremity of *Cape Cod*, to which promontory he gave
May 14. that name on account of the great quantities of codfish there taken by his people. On a little island called by the natives *Cuttyhunk*, and belonging to the group now known as the *Elizabeth Islands*, he made arrangements for a permanent occupation, and built a palisadoed house. But the supply of provisions was scanty. Some demonstrations of the natives were alarming. The men became dispirited and mutinous,
June 18. and in five weeks after coming within sight of land, the whole party sailed again for England.

The intelligence they carried back did not prove to be discouraging. A voyage made to the
1603. easterly parts of New England by Martin Pring, in the service of some merchants

and others of Bristol, was only for trading purposes; but Lord Southampton, still intent on a settlement, and perceiving the necessity of further information in order to the maturing of his plans, sent out Captain George Waymouth, with a single vessel, to discover and explore. 1605. March 31. He made land at the Island of Nantucket, and sailed some fifty or sixty miles up one of the rivers of Maine. May 14. Here, in absurd disregard of the interests as well as of the honor of his employers, he kidnapped five of the natives, whom he presently conveyed to his own country.

He had scarcely left New England, when it was visited by a party of Frenchmen, who came in quest of a place of settlement more convenient than that on the shore of the Bay of Fundy, where they had first thought of planting. In their examination of the coast of Maine and Massachusetts, disasters overtook them. The weather was stormy. 1606. They lost some of their number in attacks from the savages, and a vessel by shipwreck. And the enterprise was abandoned.

The last of this series of abortive undertakings to establish a European colony in New England was projected on a large scale. Among the persons connected with it, Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England, was the most considerable, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges was one of the most active. Gorges was a Somersetshire man, who had been concerned in the conspiracy of the Earl

of Essex, and had afterwards been induced to testify against him, thereby bringing upon himself the lasting dislike of an important portion of the English people. At the accession of King James, Gorges was made Governor of Plymouth, and was residing there when Captain Waymouth returned from his visit to Maine. The active mind of Gorges became intent on plans for colonization in that country. He communicated his zeal to Chief Justice Popham, with whom he seems to have been connected by marriage; and a company was formed by them of gentlemen, merchants, and others, in the west of England. At the same time another company was organized in London, for the purpose of renewing the hitherto frustrated attempts to colonize Virginia.

1605.

The two associations combined their plans, and obtained from the King a patent in which they were distinguished from each other as the First and the Second Colony. The First, or *London Colony*, was authorized to make settlements on the American coast, and fifty miles inland, between the thirty-fourth and the forty-first degrees of north latitude; to the Second, or *Plymouth Colony*, was accorded the same privilege between the thirty-eighth degree of latitude and the forty-fifth. Neither colony might plant within a hundred miles of a settlement of the other. Both alike had power to expel intruders, to coin money, to impose taxes and duties for their own occasions for twenty-one years, and for seven years to import

1606. April 10

goods from other parts of the British dominions, free of duty. Both were to pay to the King one fifth part of the products of gold and silver mines, and one fifteenth part of whatever copper should be found. Both colonies were to be under the supervision of a council, called the *Council of Virginia*, consisting of thirteen members, to be appointed from time to time by the Crown, and to exercise their authority agreeably to royal instructions. The settlers of each colony were to be governed for the King, and according to his directions, by a council of his appointment residing on the spot.

A little more than a year after obtaining their incorporation, the Plymouth Colony despatched three ships to the American coast, with a hundred passengers, to make a settlement. Landing by the mouth of the River Kennebec, they formally inaugurated their enterprise with prayers, a sermon, and a reading of the patent and of the ordinances under which it had been decreed by the authorities at home that they should live. With idle ostentation members of the company were invested with the titles of President, Admiral, Master of the Ordnance, Commander of the Forces, Marshal, Secretary, and Governor of the Fort.

1607. May 31.

Aug. 8.

No settlement was made. Before the autumn, one half of the party became discouraged, and returned to England with the ships that had brought them. Forty-five persons held out through the

winter. The President fell sick and died, and news came of the death of the brother of the Admiral, an event which required his presence in England. In the spring, the last of the company went home, and still New England remained uncolonized.

Six years more passed, when the country was visited by a person whose name, though it rather owes its place in history to his exploits elsewhere, connects itself with New England by reason of the important contribution made by him to the knowledge of its geography. John Smith, a native of Lincolnshire, and now near thirty-five years of age, had already passed through a series of adventures of a character the most extraordinary, and of which many of the incidents that are recorded are not to be received without caution.

1592. Running away from his home while yet a boy, he took service in the Netherlands. About the time when he came of age he set off to enlist in the Imperial army, then fighting the Turks in Hungary. Before he got to France he was robbed of all his money and effects, and was saved by a peasant's kindness from freezing to death. In the Mediterranean, having been thrown overboard by a company of pilgrims, who imputed to him, as a heretic, the disaster of a storm which had arisen, he scarcely saved his life by swimming to an island.

Arrived at the Imperial camp, Smith presently recommended himself to favor by working a tele-

graph ingeniously contrived, and by the invention of some destructive pyrotechnic missiles, which he called "fiery dragons." Three Turkish champions having, "to delight the ladies," defied as many Christian cavaliers to mortal combat, Smith took the whole business upon himself, and successively vanquished and beheaded all of the vainglorious challengers.

Taken prisoner in battle, he was sold as a slave in a market near Adrianople. A Pasha bought him, for a present to his mistress. The lady, fearing that he might be again sold out of her reach, sent him to be protected by her brother in a fortress by the Black Sea. The "Tymor" did not share in his sister's tenderness, but had Smith stripped naked, his head and beard shaved, and "a great ring of iron, with a long stalk bowed like a sickle, riveted about his neck." Being the last comer, he succeeded to the unpleasant offices from which his predecessors had been advanced, and his service was that of "slave of slaves to them all."

The "Tymor" coming alone one day to look after him, Smith took the wished-for opportunity to beat out his brains with his "threshing bat." He hid the body under a truss of straw, after stripping it to array himself in the clothes, filled a knapsack with corn, leaped upon a horse, and made into the wilderness, where "God did direct him to the great way of Castragan."

He got back among Christians, and after roving

over almost all Europe, proceeded to take a look at Africa. While he was accidentally on board of an English frigate in a port of Morocco, a storm drove her to sea; and before she regained her mooring, Smith had the satisfaction of assisting in a desperate engagement between her and two Spanish ships of war.

Returning to England when the excitement created by Gosnold's expedition was still fresh, and when arrangements were making for the patent of the council of Virginia, he immediately came into relations with the projectors of the London Colony, and sailed with the first company fitted out by them for America. In what is now called *Virginia* he passed two eventful years, and established a claim to be accounted the founder of that commonwealth.

1606. Dec. 19.

Smith reached America as a prisoner, under a charge of plotting with others to murder the lawful leaders of the expedition, and make himself king in the country to be occupied. The emigrants came to land at the capes of Chesapeake Bay, and sailed up James River, where they laid out a town, calling it by the name of *Jamestown*. In the orders brought from England, Smith was named as one of the council of government. But Wingfield, the President, was his enemy, and he was excluded from that trust. The colony, however, soon fell into trouble and danger, from which nobody but Smith was thought able to extricate it; and before winter

1607. April 26.

May 13.

he had brought affairs at Jamestown into some order, not however till after there had been scenes of violence.

Having gone up the River Chickahominy with a few men on an expedition for hunting and discovery, and having parted from all his companions except two Indian guides, he was set upon by a party of the natives, who wounded him with an arrow in the thigh. Loosing his garters, and tying one of his Indians with them to his left arm, he handled him as a shield, and, thus protected, killed three of his assailants and wounded several others. But his crippled leg was a disadvantage. He could not extricate himself from a morass into which he had sunk in attempting to withdraw; and being in danger of freezing to death, he surrendered himself to the assailants.

He parried their wrath for the moment by taking from his pocket a compass, of which he explained the properties, proceeding to expound, as far as his knowledge of their language would admit, the principles of the solar system, and the great features of geography, as received by civilized nations. His unreconciled captors tied him to a tree, and would have put him to death with their arrows, but their leader protected him by holding up the compass; and, held by three men, and guarded by six archers on each side, he was led away to be presented to King Powhatan. In that monarch's presence the case was examined by his counsellors. The result was that Smith's

head was laid upon a large stone, that it might be crushed with clubs. The fatal blows were about to descend, when Powhatan's daughter, twelve or thirteen years of age, sprang from his side, where she had been sitting, and clasping Smith's head in her arms, laid it close to her own. The angry father relented, and the culprit's life was spared. It was agreed between them, that, in consideration of a present of two cannon and a grindstone, Smith should not only be set at liberty, but should be adopted by Powhatan as his son, and be endowed with a large tract of country. Twelve Indians accompanied Smith to Jamestown to receive the promised bounty; but finding the articles too heavy to carry, they returned to their homes enriched only with some more manageable tokens of his good-will. This story is here told as, on the authority of one of the books that bear Smith's name, it has long been current. But recent criticisms indicate that it must be remitted to the realm of fable.

Smith's fellow-colonists were not responsible persons. "A great part," he says, "were unruly sparks, packed off by their friends, to escape worse destinies at home. Many were poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, rakes, and libertines, footmen, and such others as were much fitter to spoil and ruin a commonwealth than to help to raise or maintain one." On his return from Powhatan's country he found them in extreme disorder. Two parties had been formed, one of which had seized

the vessel, and was about to set sail for England. Smith laid hands on some of the mutineers, and sent them thither as prisoners. His management of affairs was brave and prudent; his credit grew; and he was chosen by his associates to be President of the colony. Again his career had just been near coming to a close. From a fish called a *stingray* he received a wound which threatened to be fatal, and his companions dug a grave for his burial. But one of them produced a "precious oil," which effected so speedy a cure that at night he ate a piece of the same fish with a good appetite.

On the River Susquehanna, Smith became acquainted with a race of Indians of gigantic stature, who used a language that might "well beseem their proportions, sounding from them as a voice in a vault." Defeated in a stratagem for carrying off the great King Powhatan, he was surrounded in a house by a crowd of the followers of that chief; but, armed with sword and pistol, "he made such a passage among these naked devils, that, at his first shot, those next him tumbled one over another, and the rest quickly fled, some one way, some another." Powhatan followed him, however, and was about to fall upon his small party, when "Pocahontas, his dearest jewel and daughter, in that dark night, came through the irksome woods" to bring intelligence of the danger. Another chief, Opechancanough, with seven hundred men, encountered Smith, who had but fifteen.

Smith caught him by his long hair and dragged him into the midst of the Indian warriors, who were so confounded at such temerity that they offered no resistance, but with their sovereign gave up their bows and arrows. After the excitement and fatigue of this scene, Smith fell asleep; and some of the Indians, watching their opportunity, gathered about him with murderous designs. But he awoke at the right moment, and, seizing his sword and target, speedily put them all to flight. Some of Powhatan's subjects tried to poison him; but a seasonable nausea gave him relief, and he had strength enough to give a severe beating to the Indian who appeared to be immediately responsible. While he slept in a boat next to a bag of powder, it was fired by some accident, and he was shockingly burned. He sprang into the water for relief, and was scarcely saved by his crew from drowning. As he lay at Jamestown, disabled by his burns, some disaffected English conspired against his life. The person designated to slay him could not get up his courage for the villanous attempt.

Smith had had enough of Virginia. He had there worried through two years of extreme toil and danger. The factions among his own people which had so disastrously embarrassed him were still as venomous and as unmanageable as ever; and he could hope for no support from the authorities at home, whose ear the malecontents had poisoned against him. What decided him, how

ever, was the condition of his burns, which he was satisfied could not be cured without good surgery. He bade farewell to Virginia forever, leaving behind him five hundred colonists, well supplied with the necessaries of life. 1609.

Seventeen years after this time a work appeared, of which part of the title was, "The General History of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles," with Smith's name on the title-page as its author. It was followed, some years later, by "The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America." In these two works are recorded the extraordinary adventures, of some of which a sketch has been given above. In recent times the authenticity and truth of parts of these narratives have been more than doubted; but the reasons against their credit leave unimpaired the substantial facts of Smith's inestimable services to the infant colony of Virginia.

The history of his less conspicuous career in later life is more prosaic and better established. Five years had passed after his return to England, when he engaged himself with some partners to make a voyage with two vessels to North Virginia, "to take whales, and also to make trials of a mine of gold and copper." He came to land at Monhegan, an island near the mouth of the River Penobscot. With eight men in a small boat, he ranged the neighboring coast to the southwest, with the object of collecting furs. In 1614. April 30.

this expedition he drew "a map from point to point, isle to isle, and harbor to harbor, with the soundings, sands, rocks, and landmarks," and gave to the country the name of *New England*. Returning home, he was permitted to present a copy of his sketch, and of the journal of his voyage, to the King's second son, afterwards King Charles the First, who, at his solicitation, gave names, principally of English towns, to certain points upon the coast. The map, with this addition, was engraved and published; and by the circulation of it, and by other efforts, but with little success, Smith tried to reawaken an interest in establishing a colony in that region. The Plymouth Company ostensibly took him into their service; but they were embarrassed and disheartened by the ill-success of their undertaking seven years before, and it was not without "a labyrinth of trouble" that Smith was enabled to set sail again with two ships, the larger of two hundred tons burden, the other of fifty.

1615. March.

At sea, the vessels were separated in a storm. The smaller of them, commanded by Captain Dermer, proceeded to America, and brought home a freight. Smith's own ship was dismasted, and, returning into port, was pronounced unseaworthy Putting to sea again with thirty men in a bark of sixty tons, he fell in with a French squadron, and was taken prisoner. He served a while with his captors in a cruise against the Spaniards, and was then set free, with empty pockets, at Rochelle.

After a series of minor adventures and exploits, he made his way back to Plymouth, obtained three vessels, and prepared to set sail once more for New England. But at first contrary winds kept him in port; then other obstacles occurred, 1617. which proved to be insuperable. Smith travelled about the south and west of England, distributing books and maps, but winning no effectual favor to his project. He might as well have tried, he said, "to hew rocks with oyster-shells." At last, "seeing nothing would be effected, he was contented as well with this loss of time and charge as all the rest." He lived several years longer, but never saw America again. He heard that "some hundreds of Brownists had gone to New Plymouth, whose humorous ignorances caused them for more than a year to endure a wonderful deal of misery with an infinite patience." But he valued himself on being "not so simple to think that any other motive than wealth would ever erect there a commonwealth, or draw company from their ease and humors at home, to stay in New England."

Soon after Smith's failure in the expedition in which he had been associated with Dermer, a trading party was sent out by Gorges to New England, under the conduct of Richard Vines. 1616–1617. They passed a winter at a camp on the River Saco. There they learned that an extensive tract of the country had been recently almost depopulated by wars and pestilence, a fact which was afterwards abundantly confirmed.

Dermer came to New England again. He sailed along the coast from the Kennebec to Virginia, and, returning thence, traversed part of the country on which, six months later, was begun the second permanent American colony of Englishmen. At the spot where presently that colony was in fact to be established, Dermer wished "that the first plantation might be seated, if there came to the number of fifty persons, or upwards." He was severely wounded at Martha's Vineyard, in a fight with some Indians, and soon afterwards died in Virginia.

1620. June.

CHAPTER II.

GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY.

As yet Europeans had not seen much more of New England than some parts of the sea-coast. Its interior topography, its vegetation, and its inhabitants, brute and human, were still unknown to them. That the reader may understand the condition of things into which colonists were to come, it is necessary here to anticipate some observations of a later time.

The great feature in the configuration of the inland country is presented by two nearly parallel ranges of mountains, or rather elevated plateaus, which traverse New England from the southwestern corner to the northeastern. The chain nearest to the western border bears the general name of the *Green Mountains*. The other chain, presenting greater elevations, rises to its principal height in the *White Mountains* of New Hampshire. Mount Washington, one of the latter group, is sixty-three hundred feet high. Mansfield Mountain, the loftiest of the Green Mountains, measures forty-four hundred feet. The easterly edge of the eastern range of highlands approaches the Atlantic Ocean to within about fifty miles, and in this sea

coast line there is no elevation of more than six hundred feet.

The most considerable of the rivers which descend from these heights take a southerly course to the ocean. Such are the Penobscot, the Kennebec, the Androscoggin, the Connecticut, and the Housatonic. By spurs of highland the Merrimac and the Charles are turned off to the east. The hill-country is so near to the ocean as not to admit of a long navigation of the rivers. At the mouths of several of them are deep and capacious harbors The interior masses of water find almost everywhere a sufficient vent, and there are few lakes of considerable size. The largest, Lake Winnipiseogee, is thirty-five miles long, and about ten miles across in its greatest breadth. The continuity of the coast line is broken by several great inlets from the sea, of which Penobscot Bay, Buzzard's Bay, and Narragansett Bay are the most considerable.

The atmospheric temperature in New England is variable, and heat and cold are both in extreme. The range of the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer is from more than a hundred degrees in summer to the freezing point of mercury (thirty-three degrees below zero) in winter. In Massachusetts, the central State, the mean temperature of the year varies from forty-four to fifty-one degrees. Great changes of temperature often occur suddenly. At Boston, the mercury has been known to traverse forty-five degrees in twenty four hours; and on one day it rose twenty-seven

degrees between seven o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon, and fell thirty-three degrees in the next seven hours. 1821. Jan. 13.

Droughts, though not unusual, are not often severe. The average annual fall of rain is from forty to forty-five inches. In twenty years, the extreme range of the barometer at Cambridge, in Massachusetts, was two inches and sixty-four hundredths. Tornadoes are infrequent. There is no appearance of volcanic action. There have been earthquakes which have created alarm, but none which have done much damage. One of them, in the middle of the eighteenth century, in the month of the great earthquake at Lisbon, shook down a hundred chimneys in Boston. It was the last that occasioned much observation. 1755. Nov. 18.

The great and sudden variations of temperature may be supposed to affect the salubrity of the climate. But New England is not an unhealthy country. The conformation of the surface forbids the stagnation of masses of water; and the tides of the neighboring ocean, the snow on the hills, and the winds which the rapid changes of temperature keep in motion, are perpetual restorers of a wholesome atmosphere. In the absence of marshes diffusing noxious miasmata, intermittent fevers rarely occur. Among the fatal maladies, pulmonary consumption numbers most victims. Diseases of the nervous system are next in frequency. Malignant fevers, especially of the typhoid type,

are sometimes epidemic. If the official returns of deaths in Massachusetts for four consecutive years may be credited, one person in every eighteen then living was more than eighty years old.

1852-1855.

The agricultural season is short. Though of different length in different parts of a region extending through six degrees of latitude and diversified by alternations of hill and valley, the statement may be made, in a general way, that winter lasts through nearly half the year. In Massachusetts, the mean temperature of the eight cold months is less than forty degrees. That of the four warm months is nearly seventy. In years of average vernal temperature in Massachusetts, the ground is ready for the plough by the first of April. By the first week of November, the last fruits of the year are gathered in.

Generally, the soil is not fertile. The wide beach along the coast is sandy; in the interior, rocks and gravel, with occasional veins of clay, cover a large part of the surface. In the neighborhood of towns the quality of the land has been greatly improved by the careful cultivation of more than two centuries. But most of the natural fruitfulness of the region was found in the valleys of the great rivers. The borders of the Penobscot, the Kennebec, the Connecticut, and other streams, enriched in past ages and still reinvigorated by the deposits of the annual overflow, exhibit a fecundity in strong contrast with the stony hill-sides. The territory of Massachusetts is, on the whole,

the least fruitful in New England. Maine, skirted by a barren shore, contains inland the largest proportion of good arable soil. New Hampshire and Vermont abound in lands suitable for the pasture of herds and flocks.

In mineral wealth New England is not affluent. A little copper has been found, some lead, some graphite, and considerable quantities of iron and manganese. There are beds of anthracite coal, of an inferior quality. Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts contain ample quarries of slate; and limestone abounds in Rhode Island and Maine. The granite and sienite of Eastern Massachusetts, the white marble of the western mountain range, and the sandstone of the valley of the Connecticut, are valuable materials for building. The serpentine of Vermont, and the variegated marbles of Connecticut, are prized for architectural embellishment. Here and there are medicinal springs, generally of a chalybeate quality. Salt is only to be had from sea-water.

The natural forests of New England were so vast that the early explorers described them as covering the country. In fact, it was all forest-clad, except the bogs and salt-marshes, and the mountain tracts above the limit of trees. An abundance of the oak, hickory, walnut, ash, elm, maple, pine, spruce, chestnut, cedar, and other forest-trees offered supplies for fuel, tools, weapons, utensils, and building. The chestnut, hazlenut, beechnut, butternut, and shagbark yielded contributions to the stores

of food laid up for winter. Wild cherries, mulberries, and plums enlarged the variety of the summer's diet. Wild berries, as the strawberry, the gooseberry, the raspberry, the blackberry, the whortleberry, the cranberry, grew in plenty in the meadow and champaign lands. Vines bearing grapes of tolerable flavor flourished along the streams. A profusion of flowering shrubs, and of aquatic, forest, and field flowers, brought their tribute to the pomp of the year. The lobelia, the sarsaparilla, the ginseng, and the sassafras were prized for their medicinal properties. The tough, fibrous bark of an indigenous plant, a species of dogbane, afforded a good substitute for hemp. The native grasses of the upland were rank but innutritious, so that the European planters soon found it better to fodder their cattle on the salt herbage of the sea-marshes.

Neither in the vegetable nor in the animal world was in any instance the same species found in America as existed on the other continent. The fishes of the interior waters of New England, like the trees, the bushes, the birds, and the quadrupeds of that region, received from the settlers such names as were suggested by superficial resemblances to objects which had been known abroad. The rivers of New England, as well as the belt of sea which embraced its long coast, were found to swarm with fishes of kinds the most useful to man. The cod, the mackerel, and the herring have from the first arrival of Europeans to the present time been important articles of trade.

Of the native birds of New England, the most abundant is the wood-pigeon. Different wild species of the goose and duck resort to the sea-shore, in the colder months, in search of fish and of aquatic plants and insects. Various species of the plover and of other birds of passage haunt the meadows and the marshes. The wild turkey, now rarely seen, throve on berries in the woods. The quail and the red-breasted thrush (commonly known as the *robin*) make their nests in the uplands. The woodcock and the ruffed grouse, or partridge, hide in the copses. Among birds remarkable for beauty of plumage are the gorgeous oriole, or golden robin, which makes its annual summer visit from the Chesapeake; the bluebird, the golden-winged woodpecker, the rose-breasted grossbeak, and above all, the tiny humming-bird. Hawks and horned owls are the terror of poultry-yards. Blue-jays, crows, and blackbirds annoy the husbandman by their inroads upon the just planted and just ripening grain, which, however, they save from more destructive enemies than themselves. The music of the dwellers in the air is various. The song-sparrow pours out its joyous melody all day long. The hermit-thrush, or mavis, charms the woods at nightfall. From its solitude the whippoorwill sends to a long distance its wild and plaintive song "In sweetness of voice, as far as his few notes extend," the American starling, or meadow-lark, is pronounced by Wilson to be eminently superior to the skylark of Europe.

Of the larger kinds of reptiles there were not many found native to the soil. The bite of the rattlesnake is dangerous, though by no means certainly fatal, as is commonly supposed. The black snake, sometimes seen six or seven feet long, is shy and harmless. Troublesome insects abound. The short and happily not constant summer campaign of the canker-worm leaves desolation behind in the orchards, and on the most prized of the ornamental trees, within the narrow limits which it infests. Cut-worms and other caterpillars ravage the grain-fields. Borers and other beetles deform the gardens. During the heats of the summer, especially in the evening and night and in moist places, the presence of the mosquito, with its threatening music and its irritating sting, materially detracts from the comfort of man.

The native quadrupeds of New England, as generally of all America, were found to be of types inferior to those of the other hemisphere. The bear, the wolf, the catamount, and the lynx, or wild-cat, were the most formidable. The moose, which has disappeared, except from secluded portions of New Hampshire and Maine, was the largest, measuring five feet and a third in height, and nearly seven feet in the length of the body. The fallow-deer, not quite exterminated at this day, abounded in the forests. Of fur-bearing animals there were the beaver, the otter, the ermine, the raccoon, the musquash, the mink, the sable, and the marten, besides the fox and the squirrel, and others less prized.

CHAPTER III.

ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS.

The indigenous population of New England was probably never numerous. Considering the scanty means of living there afforded to men destitute of the resources of art, the fact could scarcely have been otherwise. At the time of the first European settlement in New England, a terrible pestilence had recently ravaged the country, and, according to the best reckoning which can now be made, the reduced population, whatever it may previously have been, did not then amount to more than about fifty thousand souls. It was spread thinly along the eastern coast, and more compactly along the southern. The wide tracts now known as Vermont, Northern New Hampshire, and Western Massachusetts, were then almost, if not absolutely, without inhabitants.

Of the five families into which the most current classification distributes the human inhabitants of this planet, that known as the American Indian, spreading from Hudson's Bay, at the north, to the southern extremity of the continent, constitutes one. The symmetrical frame of this race, the cinnamon color of the skin, the long, black, coarse

hair, the scant beard, the high cheek-bones, the flat and square forehead set upon a triangular conformation of the lower features, the small, deep-set, shining, snaky eyes, the protuberant lips, the broad nose, the small skull with its feeble frontal development, make a combination which the scientific observer of some of these marks in the skeleton, and the unlearned eye turned upon the living subject, equally perceive to be unlike what is seen in other regions of the globe.

The portion of North America enclosed by the Atlantic Ocean, the River St. Lawrence, the great lakes, the Mississippi, and the Gulf of Mexico, was found by European explorers to be inhabited by natives distinguishable into four groups. Of these the most numerous, or, at all events, the most widely spread, was the family to which the French gave the name of *Algonquin*. Their country extended along the Atlantic Ocean from Pamlico Sound in North Carolina to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

On the basis of a difference in dialect, that portion of the Algonquin Indians which dwelt in New England has been classed in two divisions, one consisting of those who inhabited what is now the State of Maine, nearly up to its western border, the other consisting of the rest of the native population. The Maine Indians may have been some fifteen thousand in number, or somewhat less than a third of the native population of New England. That portion of them who dwelt fur

thest towards the east were known by the name of *Etetchemins*. The Abenaquis, including the Tarratines, hunted on both sides of the Penobscot, and westward as far as the Saco, if not quite to the Piscataqua. The tribes found in the rest of New England were designated by a greater variety of names. The home of the Penacook or Pawtucket Indians was in the southeast corner of what is now New Hampshire and the contiguous region of Massachusetts. Next dwelt the Massachusetts tribe, along the bay of that name. Then were found successively the Pokanokets, or Wampanoags, in the southeasterly region of Massachusetts and by Buzzard's and Narragansett Bays; the Narragansetts, with a tributary race called Nyantics, in what is now the western part of the State of Rhode Island; the Pequots, between the Narragansetts and the river formerly called the Pequot River, now the Thames; and the Mohegans, spreading themselves beyond the River Connecticut. In the central region of Massachusetts were the Nipmucks, or Nipnets; and along Cape Cod were the Nausets, who appear to have owed some fealty to the Pokanokets.

The New-England Indians exhibited an inferior type of humanity. Their physical conformation, in some respects, was not mean. They were of tall or medium stature, and their limbs were shapely; but though fleet and agile when excited to some occasional effort, they were found to be incapable of continuous labor. Heavy and phleg-

matic, they scarcely wept or smiled. Their slender appetites demanded little indulgence. They could support life on the scantiest amount of food. If they were continent, it can only be to coldness of constitution that this was due; but no instance is recorded of their offering insult to a female captive, or soliciting her familiarity; and the coyness of their women repelled approach on the part of European visitors.

Their supplies for the essential wants of physical life — their food, shelter, and clothing — were of the rudest kind. Undressed skins of seals, of deer, or of other wild animals, furnished the winter's attire. In summer, the men went naked, except that they wore about the middle a piece of deer-skin, from which the fur had been removed by friction. Moccasins reaching above the ankle, of thin deer-skin, made supple by dressing with the brains, or of the moose's hide, according to the season, afforded some protection and support to the foot. Snow-shoes, presenting a wide surface by projecting to a distance from the foot, assisted journeying in winter. Personal adornments consisted of greasy paint, red, blue, and black, laid in streaks upon the skin; of mantles and head-gear, made of feathers; of ear-rings, nose-rings, bracelets, and necklaces of bone, shells, or shining stones; and of pieces of native copper, sometimes in plates, sometimes strung together so as to make a sort of fringe Their persons were uncleanly in the extreme.

Their houses, called *wigwams*, were made of

bark or mats laid over a framework of branches of trees stuck in the ground in such a manner as to converge at the top, where there was a central aperture for the escape of smoke from the fire beneath. Sometimes they were also lined with mats. For entrance and egress two low openings were left on opposite sides, so that one or the other could be closed with bark or mats, according to the direction of the wind.

For animal food the natives, in winter, shot or snared, or caught in pitfalls, the moose, the bear, and the deer; in the summer, still less trouble provided them with a variety of birds; in winter, too, at favorable times, as well as throughout the warm season, the sea and the rivers afforded supplies. For want of salt, meat could only be preserved by smoking, or, for a short time, by burying in the snow. Vegetable food consisted of various nuts, roots, and berries, which grew wild; of acorns, in the last resort; and of a few cultivated edibles. The potato was not known, but in the ground-nut, which was dug in the woods, nature had, to a limited extent, provided a sort of substitute. The natives raised maize or Indian corn, the squash, the pumpkin, the bean now called the *saba-bean*, and a species of sunflower, whose succulent tuberous root resembled the artichoke in taste. Tobacco they cultivated for luxury, using it only in the way of smoking. The one tool which sufficed for their wretched husbandry, was a hoe made of clam-shells, or of a moose's shoulder-blade, fastened

into a wooden handle. They manured the land with fish, covered over in the hill along with the seed. When the growth of corn was sufficiently advanced, earth was heaped about it to the height of some inches, for support as well as to extirpate weeds. Beans were planted amidst the corn, so that the vines might be upheld by the corn-stalks. Corn was laid up for winter supply in holes dug in the earth and lined with bark.

Flesh and fish were cooked by roasting before a fire on the point of a stake, broiling on hot coals or stones, or boiling in vessels of stone, earth, or wood; water being made to boil, not by hanging the vessel over a fire, but by the immersion in it of heated stones. The Indians had not the art of making bread. They boiled their corn either alone into *hominy*, or else mixed with beans, in which case the compound was called *succotash;* or they ate the parched kernels whole; or with a stone pestle and a stone or wooden mortar they broke them up into meal, which, moistened with water into a paste, they called *nookhik*. They did not feed at regular intervals, but whenever hunger prompted, or means allowed. Water was their only drink, except when they could flavor it with the sweet juice for which in spring they tapped the rock-maple tree.

Their lines and nets for fishing were made of twisted fibres of the dogbane, or of sinews of the deer. The scoop-net, the cylindrical basket, and the waving of torches over the water to attract to

the surface the larger fish, there to be struck by a spear, were devices used in fishing. Hooks were fashioned of sharpened bones of fishes and birds. Arrows and spears were also tipped with bone, or with claws of birds of the larger species, or with those artificially shaped triangular pieces of flint which are now sometimes found in the fields. Bows were strung with the sinews and twisted entrails of the moose and the deer. Axes, hatchets, chisels, and gouges were made of hard stone, brought to a sort of edge by friction upon another stone. The helve of the axe or hatchet was attached either by a cord drawn tight around a groove in the stone, or by being cleft while still unsevered from the tree, and left to grow while it closed round the inserted tool. The *tomahawk* was merely a wooden club, two feet or more in length, terminating in a heavy knob. The pipe, with its bowl of soft stone, set upon a stem of hard wood two feet long, and often carved and ornamented with grotesque elaboration, was a personal object of special regard. The precious metals were unknown, as well as the preparation of the ores of those employed by civilized men in the useful arts.

Baskets, mats, and boats were on the whole the chief glory of Indian skill in manufacture. Vessels of basket-work constituted the principal article of household furniture. Mats served as hanging for houses, and, with or without skins, according to the season, as couches for repose, for which latter

use they were spread on wooden supports a foot or two above the ground. Boats were of two descriptions. One kind, made of birch-bark fastened over a light wooden frame, with seams skilfully and not untastefully secured, was not only convenient for its lightness when taken out of the water to be launched in another stream, but could be impelled with equal ease and safety, as long as it was kept clear of the collisions for which its frail structure was unfit. The other sort was a log, shaped and hollowed by the application first of fire, and then of rude stone tools to the charred surface.

The Indian had trained no animal to assist him in cultivation, or hunting, or war. He had no flock, nor herd, nor poultry. He had a stupid native animal of the dog species for his companion, but it was of no use as a sentinel or in the chase.

Though no rule or fixed custom forbade polygamy, the New-England Indian had generally only one wife. She was his drudge and slave. She covered and lined the wigwam, and carried away its materials when it was to be set up in another spot. She bore home the game he had taken, plaited the mats and baskets, planted, tended, and harvested the corn and vegetables, and cooked he food. Till her infant was able to go alone, she carried it about on her back. Her toils were relieved by no participation, and requited with no tenderness; the leavings of the feast were her share of it, and the spot most exposed to the weather was her place in the wigwam. Her remedy, such

as it was, consisted in the right, admitted to reside in either party, to rescind the marriage covenant at pleasure.

No condition of human society can be imagined so simple as to afford absolutely no occasion for an exchange of commodities. Before the arrival of European planters in New England, some of the natives had advanced so far as to use a circulating medium for trade. This currency, called *wampum*, or *wampumpeag*, consisted of cylindrical pieces of the shells of testaceous fishes, a quarter of an inch long, and in diameter less than a pipe-stem, drilled lengthwise, so as to be strung upon a thread. White-colored beads of this kind, rated at half the value of the black or violet, passed as the equivalent of farthings in transactions between the natives and the settlers. They were used for ornament as well as for money, and ten thousand of them have been known to be wrought into a single war-belt four inches wide. They are said to have been invented and manufactured by the Narragansetts, and from them to have come into circulation among the other tribes.

But notwithstanding this symptom of the existence of the idea of property, the New-England savage possessed little that can be called by that name, and entertained little desire for it. Insensible to that impulse which enforces industry and creates civilization, he lived the laziest of lives. When not engaged in war or hunting, he would pass weeks in sleep, or in sitting silent, with his

elbows on his knees. He had not energy to cleanse his wigwam from its natural conglomeration of odious filth. A game of foot-ball or of quoits, or a wrestling bout, afforded some occasional variety. But his eminent resource was that of all other people, civilized or savage, who seek escape from intolerable sloth. He was a desperate gambler. He would stake his arms, his covering of furs, his stock of winter provisions, his cabin, his wife, his personal liberty, on the chances of play. Destitute of the means of drunkenness till he was tempted by the stranger, he used his earliest opportunities to plunge into desperate excess in drinking.

As a hunter and a warrior he had occasion for the use and culture of those faculties which the phrenologists call *perceptive*. He readily detected changes in the appearance of surrounding objects, and discerned their bearing on the business of the hour. He tracked his game or his enemy by indications on the surface of the ground, in the motions of trees, in faint sounds interpreted by his vigilant experience. No wonders of nature or of art stimulated his dull curiosity, or lighted up his vacant eye. But while his own countenance rarely expressed emotion, he was skilled to read the passions of others in their aspect.

Beyond this little range, it is surprising to observe how destitute he was of mental cultivation and capacity. The proceedings of the second generation before his own were unknown to him. He

had no ballads, no songs, no poetry of any kind; what was called his *war-song* was a series of howls and yells, with no distinguishable rhythm. He had no instrument of music. If he drew lines and figures on trees and rocks, they might be for use in tracking the labyrinth of the forest, and possibly in rare instances, for chronicles and memorials, but never were essays in a fine art. The nearest thing to a work of imagination of which he was observed to be capable was the *war-dance*, which was not so much an amusement as a solemnity, consisting of a grotesque dramatic representation of the proceedings of a campaign: the muster, the march, the ambush, the slaughter, the retreat, the reception at home, the torture and massacre of prisoners. The aboriginal of New England was no orator. Occasions enough occurred for him to make creditable exhibitions in this field. But the gift of impressive speech was not his.

With a mental constitution such as has been described, it is not easy to imagine that he had accomplished anything in the way of scientific observation or discovery. He had learned the medicinal virtue of a few simples; he bound up wounds in bark, with mollifying preparations of leaves, and treated fevers by opening the pores of the skin with a vapor bath; but the main reliance of his therapeutics was the action on the nervous system produced by the mummery of the *medicine-man* or *powwow*. His arithmetical scale scarcely extended beyond as many numbers as he could tell off on

his fingers. Though starlight was familiar to him, it was not ascertained that his observations had extended to any grouping of the heavenly bodies. He had no approximate formula for the year. He could not fail to observe the lunar changes, or to distinguish the months of vegetation by their productions; but it is not known that he discriminated the colder months in any way, or that he recognized any division into weekly periods corresponding to the quarterings of the moon. Days were to him so many sleepings and wakings. He had no further divisions of the day than those which are marked by sunrise, noon, and sunset.

By reason of the conditions of his rude and unsettled life, he did not require much government, nor could be much subjected to its control. There is no evidence of his having possessed what, in the loosest construction of the phrase, might be termed a code of laws, or any set of customs having the force of legal obligation. His chief need for governors of any kind arose out of the foreign relations of his tribe, if in respect to such communities that language may be used. For the protection of life and of hunting-grounds against a common enemy, it was necessary that there should be unity of counsel and of action in a tribe, and that there should be some central authority to exercise foresight and oversight for the common weal.

The New-England Indians had functionaries for such purposes. They were called *sachems* and *sagamores;* the latter name being probably the

designation of subordinate chiefs, or of such as were of inferior note or narrower jurisdiction. How the rank was obtained, it would be bootless to inquire, with any expectation of finding a uniform rule or principle of advancement. Hereditary claims were recognized, but not apparently as of such decisive weight that a defect in personal capacity would not cause them to be easily set aside. The sachem was not necessarily the captain of his tribe in war; but to him it would naturally belong to receive and send envoys, to collect intelligence, to convoke assemblies for consultation, to circulate information and directions. The exertion of his authority would practically be so dependent on the cheerful consent of his people, that he would be careful to be mainly influenced by their wishes, and thus a democratic spirit would pervade the public counsels. As the honored depositary of a degree of power, it would be natural that private controversies should occasionally find their way to him. He expected his maintenance from the free contributions of his subjects; and when these did not come, he was considered to have a right to provide for himself by what we call *distraint.* Sometimes sachems were of the female sex.

The language of the aborigines of New England belonged to that class which philologists denominate *agglutinating*, or *polysynthetic.* Instead of the verbal inflections used by the civilized nations of the Caucasian stock to indicate the modifications and relations of ideas, these languages employ the

method of stringing words together in one compound vocable. In Eliot's "Indian Primer" there are words consisting of no less than fifteen syllables. The language of the New-England tribes, like those of the rest of the Algonquins, was full of consonants, and harsh. The vocabulary, corresponding to the range and the style of thought existing among those who used it, was at once redundant and defective; characteristics which were necessitated by the incapacity for abstraction and analysis. There was no substantive verb to convey the idea of existence independent of some accompanying condition or circumstance. The apparatus of words for expressing abstractly even common and obvious relations was extremely scanty. The Indian could speak of a *hatchet*, as was necessary, because its owner might be unknown, but not of a *father*, *son*, *head*, or *hand*, except as *my*, *your*, or *his* father, and so on. There was an affluence of words indicative of distinctions between persons in the same relations of consanguinity; as between older and younger brother, paternal and maternal uncle; and what was more singular, each sex had a separate vocabulary for its own use in speaking of such relatives. The names of species were multiplied without regard to resemblances which to us seem essential and obvious and which with us are the basis of a distribution into *genera;* different kinds of oak were called by names as different as the names which were given to oaks and to willows. The exigencies of discourse

may lead to the attempt to supply by metaphors a want of abstract terms, but metaphorical language can never be that of discussion and study. The Indian had not so much as named time, space, or substance. He had no use for abstract terms, when he had not conceived the ideas which they are needed to express.

The subject of the language of the New-England Indians is not without a bearing upon the credit of the transmitted accounts of what has been favorably styled their *religion*. The considerate inquirer will remark by what means the information was obtained which has been so confidently bequeathed to us by contemporary writers. All representations of the systems of opinion of barbarous nations ought to be received with extreme caution, and, in the compass of human thought, there are no ideas or conceptions more abstract and subtle than those of religion. Whatever information the European settlers professed to have collected concerning the theories of the natives on this subject, reached them through the treacherous instrumentality of a language, not only at best imperfectly understood by the hearer, but essentially unsuitable for explanations on such a subject, and, what was worse yet, unsuitable for conducting the speculations from which theories are framed. By-and-by, settler and native came to understand better each other's speech. But, step by step, meanwhile, the original ideas of the natives had been modified by this intercourse;

and, in proportion as they were more capable of explaining their meaning, their meaning itself, the subject of their explanation, had been adulterated and confused; while, from first to last, the observers and writers, themselves men of religious theories, whether Romanist or Puritan, would insensibly be guided by their respective predilections in interpreting what the Indians told, and would compose a sense of their own out of the unmeaning or enigmatical communications which they received.

The civilized man, having constructed or received some scheme of physics, metaphysics, or theology, imagines that every human mind must have some conceptions corresponding with it; and, when encountered by strange forms of thought, he proceeds to dispose of them by explanations founded on that unsafe hypothesis. But the very first step in such an interpretation is illusory; and it is on altogether too slender a basis of ascertained facts that our literature has built up a theology for

> "the poor Indian, whose untutored mind
> Sees God in clouds, and hears him in the wind."

Such an Indian is mainly an imagination of European sentimentalists.

Many of the early French explorers of North America were men capable of judicious observation, and several of them declared that tribes which they visited were absolutely without a notion of religion. There is not wanting testimony of the same kind in relation to the natives of New

England. "They are a people," wrote Edward Winslow, after a short acquaintance with them, "without any religion, or knowledge of any God." In preaching to them in their own language, Cotton of Plymouth was obliged to use the English word denoting the Supreme Being, for want of any equivalent sign known to his hearers; and Eliot, in his translation of the Bible, was driven to a similar expedient. The correct perception of some facts was, at all events, not endangered by that inadequacy of oral communication which renders suspicious so much of the testimony on this subject; and it is quite certain that the savages of New England had no temples, no public ritual, nothing in the nature of social worship, no order of priests. In short, of the machinery of religion they were destitute. And this fact is a decisive one. For if, where there has been preparation of the understanding and affections, the religious sentiment may, unaided by forms and sympathy, sustain its life in the solitary breast, it is inconceivable that, among a people in a low state of culture, anything entitled to the name of religious sentiment should exist without some provision for its public inculcation and expression.

Some early observers fell into the error of regarding the sorceries used among the natives as religious practices. But in this there was a mere confusion of ideas. The *medicine-man*, or *powwow*, was not a priest, but a reputed conjurer, a healer of disease and controller of the elements by virtue of

mysterious arts. The murdering by the Indians of their captives has been interpreted as a religious sacrifice. But it is as impossible to show that they ever gave authority for that interpretation, as to pretend that the slaying of enemies and the offering of worship are intrinsically equivalent acts. The occasional discovery of arms, apparel, ornaments, and provisions in Indian graves has been thought to indicate the prevalence of a belief in a future life. But the careful inquirer is not satisfied that the interment of such articles was anything like a prevailing practice, and he hesitates to regard it as anything more than a natural expression of the thought that the course of the dead man was finished, that the separation from him and from what belonged to him was complete. "The fanciful historians," says a modern writer on the history of Maine, long personally conversant with the remains of the native tribes in that region, "have said much respecting the savage's hope of felicity in fine fields beyond the gates of death, where he should meet his ancestors and be happy in a state of immortality. But from any conversation had with the Indians here, or from anything which can be gathered from those who have been most with them, there is no reason to believe that the northern savages ever had ideas of that nature."

With the Indian the social attraction was feeble. At the fishing-season he would meet his fellows of the same tribe by the shores of ponds and a-

the falls of rivers, and enjoy the most that he knew of companionship and festivity. But much of his life was passed in the retirement of his wigwam and the solitude of the chase. The habit of loneliness and of self-protection made him independent and proud. His pride created an aptitude for the virtue which constituted his point of honor, and which he cultivated with assiduous care. This was, fortitude in suffering. In war, craft rather than valor stood high in his esteem. Stealth and speed composed his strategy. He showed no daring and no constancy in the field; but it was great glory to him to bear the most horrible tortures without complaint or a sign of anguish.

His brave endurance, however studied and scenic, or in whatever degree the symptom of a coarse nervous organization, presented the bright side of his character. He was without tenderness, and very few instances are recorded of his appearing capable of gratitude. Cunning and falsehood, the vices of the undisciplined, the weapons of the imbecile, were eminently his. His word afforded no security. He could play the spy with a perfect self-possession; and a treaty could not bind him any longer than he supposed the violation of it to be dangerous. Exceptions are to be allowed for in every portraiture of a class of men. Everywhere and always there are happy natures that rise above the moral standard of their place. But a just description of this peculiar race cannot omit the statement that their temper was sullen, jealous,

passionate, intensely vindictive, and ferociously cruel. Among the early colonists they had no better friend than Roger Williams. But after long years of intercourse with them, and toleration of them, and services to them, he was fain to characterize them as "dregs of mankind." "There is no fear of God," he said, "before their eyes; and all the cords that ever bound the barbarous to foreigners were made of self and covetousness."

CHAPTER IV.

PLYMOUTH COLONY.

At length the time came for a European colonization of New England. A religious impulse accomplished what commercial enterprise, sustained by money and court favor, had attempted without success. Civilized New England is the child of English Puritanism.

By many enlightened Englishmen, both of the clergy and in other walks of life, the *Reformation* which took place in England in the time of King Henry the Eighth was thought to be incomplete. As early as the next following reign, those who aimed at further reforms came to be known as a party under the name of *Puritans*. When Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne, the clergy of this party vainly flattered themselves that they would be indulged in the omission of some observances of the prescribed ritual which occasioned them offence. An act of Parliament, passed in the first year of her reign, forbade all ministers to conduct public worship otherwise than according to the rubric. A number of Puritan clergymen, some of whom were persons of distinction, refused to comply with this act, and they and their followers received the name of

1558. Nov.

1559. May

1563.

Non-conformists. A portion of them went further yet. "Seeing they could not have the word freely preached, and the sacraments administered without idolatrous gear, they concluded to break off from public churches, and *separate* in private houses." These were called *Separatists.* They were also known by the name of *Brownists,* derived from one Robert Brown, an active preacher among them.

1567.

To the surprise and dismay of those who had hoped that the accession of James the First to the throne of England would bring relief from ecclesiastical oppression, he began his reign with severe measures against dissentients from the Church. At the village of Scrooby, near the northeastern corner of Nottinghamshire, a congregation of Separatists had existed for several years. They were in the habit of assembling for worship at the house of William Brewster, a person of some property, who had formerly been employed by Davison, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth. They had two ministers, Richard Clifton and John Robinson. A young man, named William Bradford, was in the habit of coming to their meetings from the neighboring hamlet of Austerfield.

1603.

Bancroft, made Archbishop of Canterbury within a few weeks after King James's accession, was a prelate of the most arbitrary disposition. The annoyances which, under his vigilant administration, distressed the Puritans in every part of England became so intolerable to this company of simple

farmers, of whom few can be supposed to have ever seen the sea or till lately learned anything of foreign countries, that at length they resolved on the sad expedient of expatriation. They determined to seek a home in the Low Countries, where they heard that religious freedom was enjoyed, and that some of their persecuted countrymen had already found a refuge.

The scheme had to be prosecuted by stealth. Bancroft had obtained from the king a proclamation forbidding his subjects to transport themselves to Virginia without his special license; and, under color of this, or under some other pretence, the departure of the Scrooby congregation was obstructed. A portion of them chartered a vessel to receive them and their effects near 1607. Boston in Lincolnshire, to which place they accordingly made a journey of fifty miles. The master betrayed them after they had got on board. The coast officers, after robbing them of books, money, and other property, took them on shore and put them in gaol.

Another attempt was made in the spring of the next year. A number of members of the congregation made a bargain with a Dutch shipmaster to take them on board at a place on the Humber, thirty miles distant from their home. A part had embarked, when a body of armed men came in view. The Dutchman put to sea in a fright, with such of the company as had reached his vessel. The rest, separated from their friends, and some

of them destitute of money and clothing, were left in a condition the most forlorn.

At last the scattered flock collected at Amsterdam. In that city they found two congregations of English Separatists, which had emigrated at an earlier time. Between them there was some dispute, in which the new-comers feared that they might themselves become involved. Accordingly, after a few months, they resolved to remove to Leyden. Clifton, the elder of their ministers, was indisposed to another change, and remained at Amsterdam. At Leyden, Robinson was the minister, and Brewster "was an assistant unto him in the office of an elder, unto which he was now called and chosen by the church."

Leyden, "wanting that traffic by sea which Amsterdam enjoyed, was not so beneficial for their outward means of living and estates." They "fell to such trades and employments as they best could, and at length they came to raise a competent and comfortable living, but with hard and continual labor; and many came unto them from divers parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation." At Leyden, Robert Cushman, William White, and Richard Masterson found employment as wool-carders; William Bradford was a fustian-worker, and then a printer; John Jenney served a brewer, Samuel Fuller was a silk-weaver; George Morton a trader; Diggory Priest, a hatter; Isaac Allerton, a tailor; and Moses Fletcher, a smith.

An experience of less than ten years in Holland

satisfied them of the expediency of making another removal. They hoped that somewhere else their children and their old people might be exposed to less hardship than they now endured for the earning of a scanty maintenance. They were anxious for the morals of the rising generation, endangered by the example of the youth of the country, and by the license of the war with Spain, which, after a twelve years' truce, was about to be renewed. They were born Englishmen, and they could not be content that their posterity should speak any other than the language of England, or own any other sovereign than hers. "If God would discover some place unto them, though in America, they desired not only to be a means to enlarge the dominions of the English state, but the Church of Christ also, if the Lord had a people among the natives whither he would bring them."

There can be no more generous ambition than that which inspired these men. Unenterprising villagers at first, habituated at length to a new home, and able to earn a decent living by humble drudgery, some of them now sinking into age, they turn their thoughts to their posterity. With a patriotic yearning, they desire to extend the dominion of the native country which refuses to grant them a peaceable home on its broad lands. And, through the hardships of a long voyage and an unknown continent, they propose to be missionaries to the heathen.

The project occasioned much discussion. It

offered no certainties on the bright side. The dangers to be met on sea and land were formidable. The cost of the voyage would exceed any means in their possession. Its length might be beyond the endurance of the aged and feeble of their company. Arrived at its end, they would "be liable to famine and nakedness, and the want, in a manner, of all things, with sore sicknesses." Appalling reports had reached them of the ferocity and treachery of the savage races; their hard experience in the removal from England was not forgotten; and the ill success of the earlier attempts at settlement in Virginia and in Maine was a heavy discouragement.

On the other hand, they considered "that all great and honorable actions were accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courage. The dangers were great, but not desperate, and the difficulties were many, but not invincible. It might be, sundry of the things feared might never befall; others, by provident care and the use of good means, might, in a great measure, be prevented; and all of them, through the help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne or overcome. True it was that great attempts were not to be made and undertaken but upon good ground and reason, not rashly or lightly, as many had done, for curiosity or hope of gain. But their condition was not ordinary. Their ends were good and honorable, their calling lawful and urgent

and therefore they might expect the blessing of God on their proceedings. Yea, though they should lose their lives in this action, yet they might have comfort in the same, and their endeavors would be honorable." It is a genuine heroism which can reason thus.

They pondered, debated, fasted and prayed, and came to the conclusion to remove. The preparations going on around them for a renewal of the war made them impatient to proceed to execute their plan. As to the choice of a place of settlement, opinions were divided. The Dutch made them liberal offers; but to found a colony for Holland would have been a deviation from one of the objects they had in view. Some would have gone to Guiana, of which the salubrity and fruitfulness had been extolled by Sir Walter Raleigh, who had sailed up the Orinoco twenty years before, and was now there on a second visit; but it was feared that the tropical climate would ill agree with the English constitution, and the proximity of Spanish plantations was regarded as undesirable. Others desired to follow their countrymen to Virginia; but it was considered, that, if they attached themselves to the colony existing there, "they would be in as great danger to be persecuted for their cause of religion as if they lived in England, and it might be worse. And at length the conclusion was to live in a distinct body by themselves, under the general government of Virginia," that is, of the Virginia Company in England. 1617

Religious freedom, which they had exiled themselves to enjoy, was the one thing indispensable for the future. But as yet there was no security for it in any region claimed by the British crown. Two of their company, Robert Cushman and John Carver, were despatched to solicit it from the king, to be enjoyed at such place of settlement as in the progress of a proposed negotiation they should obtain from the Virginia Company.

The messengers found the Virginia Company favorably disposed to their enterprise, and desirous of affording it sufficient facilities. The king was less tractable. Through the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys, a person of great authority, son of that Archbishop of York whose tenant Brewster had formerly been at Scrooby, and soon afterwards Governor of the Company, their case was presented by Sir Robert Naunton, then principal Secretary of State. But the king would give no pledge. The most that could be obtained from him was an encouragement, in general terms, that their Separatism would be connived at, as long as they should give no public offence. An express engagement, even of that unsatisfactory tenor, was denied.

Thus the question was opened again. "Many were afraid, that, if they should unsettle themselves, put off their estates, and go upon these hopes, it might prove dangerous, and but a sandy foundation." On a reconsideration, however, the counsels of the more sanguine prevailed. It was determined to take the risk, and "to rest herein

on God's providence, as they had done in other things;" and Cushman and Brewster were sent to England to arrange terms with the Virginia Company, and also "to treat and conclude with such merchants and other friends as had manifested their forwardness to provoke to, and adventure in, this voyage," so as to procure pecuniary means for the outfit. In short, money for the cost of the emigration was to be raised on a mortgage of the future labor of the emigrants. 1619. Feb.

After a vexatious negotiation, both objects were accomplished. A patent was obtained under the seal of the Virginia Company, not, however, "taken in the name of any of their own company, but in the name of Mr. John Wincob, a religious gentleman then belonging to the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to go with them." Neither the patent, nor any copy, nor even its date, nor any description of its grants, has been preserved. It is known, however, from a memorandum of the time, that the land conveyed was "about the Hudson's River."

The conditions insisted on by the *Merchant Adventurers* — that is, the merchants who were to furnish money — were oppressive to the borrowers. The two parties were to be united in a joint-stock company. Colonists sixteen years old and upwards, and persons contributing ten pounds in money, were to be owners of one share. Colonists who contributed ten pounds were to have two shares; and they were to be allowed a share for every

domestic dependant more than sixteen years old, two shares for every such dependant if fitted out at their expense, and half a share for every dependant between ten years of age and sixteen. Arrived at their destination, the planters were to employ themselves in boat-building, fishing, carpentry, cultivation, and manufactures, for the common emolument. They were to be provided with food, clothing, and other necessaries, from the common stock At the end of seven years the capital and profits were to be divided among the stockholders in proportion to their shares in the investment, and each child that had gone out when under ten years of age was to have fifty acres of unmanured land. Stockholders investing at a later period were to have shares in the division proportioned to the duration of their interest; and to the estates of stockholders who might die before the expiration of the seven years, allowances were at that time to be made proportioned to the length of their lives in the colony. To the great disappointment and displeasure of the colonists, two articles, supposed by them to have been agreed upon, to the effect that they should have two days in each week for their private use, and that, at the division, they should be owners of their houses and of the cultivated land appertaining thereto, were, at the last moment, disallowed by the *Merchant Adventurers.*

The supplies which had as yet been obtained were sufficient for the conveyance of only a portion of the Leyden congregation, and of some as-

sociates who, agreeably to arrangements of theirs or of the Merchant Adventurers, were to join them in England. As it turned out that only a minority of the congregation could embark in the first vessels, it was determined that Robinson, the pastor, should remain for the present at Leyden, while Brewster should accompany the pioneers, who were without delay to sell their little property, and contribute the proceeds to the common stock on the terms defined in the articles. As to the more distant future, there was a mutual understanding, that, "if the Lord should frown upon their proceedings, then those that went to return, and the brethren that remained still there to assist and be helpful to them; but, if God should be pleased to favor them that went, then they also should endeavor to help over such as were poor and ancient, and willing to come." Thomas Weston, one of the London partners, came to Leyden, for a consultation respecting the details of the outfit; and Cushman was sent over to London, and Carver to Southampton, "to receive the money and provide for the voyage."

A little vessel, which had been purchased, called the *Speedwell*, awaited the departing *Pilgrims* — it was then that the now familiar application of the word was first made — at Delft-Haven, on the River Meuse, fourteen miles from Leyden. With all the enthusiasm that possessed alike the emigrants and the friends whom they left, the parting was anxious and sorrowful. They held a last

religious service together at Leyden, "pouring out prayers to the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears." Then a party of those who were to remain accompanied the voyagers to the ship, and the sad farewell was repeated. The Speedwell brought her passengers prosperously to Southampton, where they were awaited by the Mayflower, a larger vessel, of a hundred and eighty tons' burden, which had come round from London.

After a fortnight, employed in the last preparations, the two vessels put to sea, with about a hundred and twenty passengers. Before they had proceeded far, the Speedwell sprung a leak, and with her consort returned to Dartmouth for repairs. They sailed a second time; and a second time, for the same reason, were forced to put back, and at Plymouth the Speedwell was pronounced to be unseaworthy. It was getting late in the season; no other vessel could immediately be had; and it was determined that a part of the company should relinquish the voyage for the present. When the Mayflower set sail a third time, it was with a hundred and two passengers, counting men, women, and children.

Sept. 6.

The connection between this ship's company and the Separatist congregation of Scrooby consists rather in an historical continuity than in an identity of persons. In determining the question as to which portion of the congregation should first emigrate, it was arranged for "the youngest and strongest part to go." The youngest and strongest

would generally be of those who had joined the society most recently, while they who were excused from the first enterprise would, on the whole, be the persons whose more ancient relations to Robinson in England would be a reason for their remaining with him. Concerning very few of the first company of planters in New England is it known to this day from what English homes they came. None but William Brewster and William Bradford are ascertained to have been attendants upon the ministry of Robinson in Nottinghamshire. Edward Winslow, who was superior in condition to all or to most of his companions, is believed to have become acquainted with Robinson while travelling in Holland; he joined the society at Leyden three years before the emigration. The "cautionary towns" of the Netherlands had been garrisoned by British regiments for thirty years, and the soldier Miles Standish had probably been employed in this service. The Leyden church had received several members of Dutch and of French birth; and Edmund Margeson, one of the Mayflower's company, was probably a Hollander. Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, John Billington, Edward Dotey, and Edward Lister appear to have joined the expedition at one or another of the English ports. Christopher Martin came from Billerica, in Essex, to meet it. John Alden was a cooper, engaged at Southampton. Samuel Fuller, Isaac Allerton, and Diggory Priest were Londoners. Robert Cushman was from Canterbury;

George Morton, from York; and Richard Masterson, from Sandwich. "Many of you," Robinson wrote in a letter which reached the emigrants at Southampton, "are strangers, as to the persons, so to the infirmities, one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness."

Including children, there were twenty-eight females on board, eighteen of whom were wives of emigrants. The voyage was long, and the latter part of it was fatiguing and perilous. As the wanderers approached the American continent, they encountered weather which proved almost too tempestuous for their overburdened vessel to sustain. They did not reach the land where they had expected to disembark. It was afterwards believed, though on unsatisfactory evidence, that the shipmaster had been bribed by the Dutch to take them out of their way, so as to prevent their interfering with the infant Dutch colony at the mouth of Hudson's River. At early dawn of the sixty-fourth day of their voyage they came in sight of the white sand-banks of Cape Cod. Veering to the south, they found themselves, by the middle of the day, "among perilous shoals and breakers." This induced them to retrace their course, and at length, at noon of a Saturday near the close of autumn, the Mayflower dropped her anchor in the roadstead of what is now Provincetown, at the extremity of the southern cape of Massachusetts Bay.

Nov. 9

Nov. 11.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST YEAR AT PLYMOUTH.

The heterogeneous composition of the company which came to New England in the Mayflower has been explained. The company did not consist entirely of persons devoted to the high objects for which the emigration had been planned. Some organization for local government would have proved necessary at any rate; but the necessity was the more manifest, because already, "before they came to harbor," it was observed that "some were not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction." Accordingly an instrument was drawn up and signed, by which the subscribers, professing themselves loyal subjects of King James, "solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenanted and combined themselves together into a civil body politic, for their better ordering and preservation, and to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as should be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, promising all due submission and obedience thereto." The simple government was then instituted by the election of John Carver to be Governor.

In the afternoon of the day when the ship came to anchor, a party of armed men was sent on shore to reconnoitre and collect fuel. They returned at evening with the report that they had seen neither person nor dwelling, but that the country was well wooded, and that the appearance as to soil was promising.

The next day was the Sabbath. Having kept it in due retirement, the men began the labors of the week by landing a shallop from the ship, and hauling it up the beach for repairs, while the women went on shore to wash clothes. While the carpenter and his men were at work on the boat, sixteen others, armed and provisioned, with Standish for their leader, set off to explore the country. They were gone three days. On the first day they saw four or five natives, who ran away so fast that they could not be overtaken. Still proceeding southward the next morning, they observed marks of cultivation, heaps of earth, which they supposed to denote graves, and the remains of a hut, with "a great kettle which had been some ship's kettle." They examined a little mound, and found beneath it two baskets containing four or five bushels of Indian-corn, of which they helped themselves to as much as they could carry away in their pockets and in the kettle. Further on they saw two canoes, and "an old fort or palisado, made by some Christians, as they thought." They returned on Friday evening, Pamet Harbor, in Truro

1620. Nov. 13.

Nov. 15.

Nov 16.

Nov. 17.

being probably the most distant point they had reached.

The next week was spent in putting tools in order, and preparing timber for a new boat. It proved to be cold and stormy; much inconvenience was felt from having to wade through the shallow water to the shore, and many took "coughs and colds, which afterwards turned to the scurvy." On the Monday of the next following week, Nov. 27 twenty-four of the colonists in the shallop, accompanied by the ship-master and ten of his people in the long-boat, set out for an exploration along the shore. They came to the harbor to which Standish's journey by land had been extended, and, finding it to have a depth of twelve feet of water at high tide, they considered the question of fixing upon it for their settlement. But the idea was abandoned, in consideration of the insufficiency of the harbor for the accommodation of large vessels, and the uncertainty as to a supply of fresh water.

As soon as the state of the weather allowed, a party, ten in number, including Carver, Dec. 6. Bradford, and others of the principal men, set off with eight seamen, in the shallop, on what proved to be the final expedition of discovery. The cold was severe. "The water froze on their clothes, and made them many times like coats of iron." They coasted along the cape, landing at different points, but not finding what they looked for. At the end of the third day Dec. 8,

their mast was carried away in a storm of sleet and snow, and they drifted in the dark towards what turned out to be a small island. They landed and lighted a fire, by which to pass the inclement night. The next day they required to "dry their stuff, *fix* their pieces, and rest themselves;" and the next day after that was the Sabbath, when no work might be done.

Dec. 11. On the following day, "Monday, they sounded the harbor, and found it fit for shipping, and marched also into the land, and found divers cornfields and little running brooks, — a place, as they supposed, fit for situation; . . . . . so they returned to their ship again with this news to the rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts." Such is the record of that event which has made the *twenty-second* of December a memorable day in the now altered calendar.

Dec. 16. By the end of the week the Mayflower had brought her company to keep their Sabbath by their future home. On Smith's map the spot bears the name of *Plymouth*, chosen for it by Prince Charles; and either for that reason, or because Plymouth was the place where the emigrants took their final departure from their native country, they gave that designation to the place of their settlement.

The first needful operations on shore were conducted with the resolution which had marked the previous proceedings. A platform was laid for ordnance, and a building was hastily erected, twenty

feet square, for a storehouse, and for common occupation. The company was distributed into nineteen families, and as many plats for dwellings were laid out on the opposite sides of a way along the north side of a brook which runs into the harbor. "The frost and foul weather hindered them much." "Scarcely could they work half the week." Time was lost in going to and from the vessel, to which, in the severe cold, they were obliged often to repair for lodging. They were delayed in unloading by want of boats; and stone, mortar, and thatch were slowly provided.

Worse troubles followed. The labor of preparing habitations had scarcely begun, when sickness set in, the consequence of exposure and bad food. Within four months it carried off nearly half the company. Of the one hundred and two who had arrived, six died in December, eight in January, seventeen in February, and thirteen in March. At one time there were only six or seven who had strength enough left to nurse the dying, and bury the dead. The sick lay crowded in the unwholesome vessel, or in half-built cabins heaped around with snow-drifts. The dead were interred in a bluff by the water-side, the marks of burial being carefully effaced, lest the natives should discover how safe would be an attack. But through all this sorrow the lesson rehearsed at Leyden was not forgotten, that "all great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable

courages." It was felt that the fit way for survivors to honor and lament the departed was to be true to one another, and to work together bravely for the cause to which dead and living had alike consecrated themselves. The devastation increased the necessity of preparations for defence; and at the time when the company was diminishing at a greater rate than that of one on every second day, a military organization was formed, with Standish for the captain, and the humble fortification on a hill overlooking the dwellings was mounted with five pieces of cannon.

1621. Feb. 17.

Feb. 21.

"Warm and fair weather" came at last, and "the birds sang in the woods most pleasantly." Never was spring more welcome than when it opened on this afflicted company.

March 3.

As yet there had been no communication with the natives. On "a fine, warm morning," an Indian came into the hamlet, and, passing along the row of huts, was intercepted before the common house, which he would have entered. In broken English he bade the strangers "welcome," and said that his name was Samoset, and that he came from Monhegan, a place distant towards the east by a day's sail, or five days of land journey, where he had learned something of the language from the crews of fishing-vessels. He told them that the place where they were was by the Indians called Patuxet, and that it had been depopulated four years before by an epidemic sick

March 16.

ness; that the subjects of a sachem named Massasoit were their nearest neighbors; and that at the southeast, on the cape, dwelt a tribe called the *Nausets*, who were exasperated against the English on account of a kidnapping of some of their people.

Samoset remained through the day and night, well pleased with his reception. Two days after, he came again, with five other savages, who brought back some tools which had been stolen two or three weeks after the landing. In a third visit he had four companions, one of whom, named Squanto, turned out to be one of several natives who, seven years before, had been kidnapped by John Smith's subordinate, Captain Hunt. This party brought a message from Massasoit that he was at hand, and desired an interview with the strangers. He presently appeared on a hill close by, with sixty followers, and Winslow went out with a present, and with a guard of six musketeers, to meet him. The Indian chief, with twenty unarmed attendants, was conducted with honor to an unfinished building, where a rug and cushions were spread for them. Then, with Squanto and Samoset for interpreters, he gave audience to the Governor, who came "with drum and trumpet"; and, after salutations and feasting, a treaty was made, in which it was agreed that Massasoit and his people should offer no injury to the English, and that any transgressor of this engagement should be surrendered for punishment; that

March 21.

if tools were stolen by natives, they should be restored, and that similar redress should be afforded on the other part; that aid should be rendered by each of the contracting parties against the enemies of the other; that notice should be sent to neighboring tribes, to the end that they might enter into similar engagements; and that, when visits should in future be exchanged, the visitors should go unarmed.

This business settled, and Massasoit having been assured that "King James would esteem of him as his friend and ally," he was conducted by the Governor across the brook, and rejoined his party. Presently his brother, named Quadequina, came over with a retinue, and was received with similar hospitality. The next day, on an invitation from the king, Standish and Allerton returned his visit, and were regaled with "three or four ground-nuts, and some tobacco." The Governor sent for the king's kettle, and returned it "full of pease, which pleased them well, and so they went their way." Squanto and Samoset remained, and the former gave an earnest of his subsequent usefulness to the English by taking for them a quantity of eels. Their tables would have been better supplied, had they been able to avail themselves of the plenty of the fishing-grounds; but, by some oversight, they had come unprovided with the proper tackle.

Before the adoption of the Gregorian calendar the year, with Englishmen, began on the twenty

fifth day of March. As their New Year's day approached, the planters "proceeded with their common business, and concluded both of military orders and of some laws and orders thought behooveful for their present estate and condition." At the same time they reëlected Carver to be their Governor. They had now completed such preparation as was to be made for severing the last tie that bound them to the scenes of their earlier life, and the Mayflower set sail on her return voyage. She carried back not one of the emigrants, dispiriting as were the hardships which they had endured, and which they had still in prospect.

March 21-23.

April 5.

Scarcely had she gone, when another heavy calamity occurred. Carver, who at one time had been left with no aid but that of Brewster, Standish, and four others, to nurse their suffering companions, "oppressed by his great care and pains for the common good," came out of the field where he was planting, took to his bed, after a few hours fell into a delirium, and died in a few days. In "great lamentation and heaviness" they laid him in his grave, "with as much solemnity as they were in a capacity to perform, with a discharge of some volleys of shot of all that bare arms." His wife, "being overcome with excessive grief for the loss of so gracious a husband," followed him after a few weeks. Bradford was placed in the vacant office, and at his request, on account of being only partially recovered from his illness

in the winter, Isaac Allerton was chosen to be his assistant. Forty-six of the passengers in the Mayflower were now dead, twenty-eight out of the forty-eight adult men. Before the second party of emigrants arrived in the autumn, the number of the dead was fifty-one, and only an equal number survived the first miseries of the enterprise.

The settlers had no working-cattle. In early spring they opened the ground near their dwellings with the spade, and prepared their rude gardens. They sowed six acres with barley and pease. Their good fortune in the winter at the subterranean storehouses had given them ten bushels of Indian-corn for seed. This sufficed them for the cultivation of twenty acres, Squanto instructing them how to plant and hill it, and to manure with fish. As the season advanced, they found a supply of wild grapes and berries; nor did they omit to record that wild flowers of various hue and of "very sweet fragrance" added a charm to the scene. With the variety afforded by wildfowl, fish, and native fruits, what remained of the stores that had been brought over sufficed for food, and the warm season brought no other want.

Four expeditions during the summer varied the life of the exiles, and extended their knowledge of the country to a few miles' distance on the west, east, and north. Winslow and Hopkins, accompanied by Squanto as interpreter, were sent to Massasoit's home on Narragansett Bay, to confirm the relations which had been entered into

with that prince. After an absence of five days, they returned to the settlement with accounts of his friendly dispositions, and of the wretched squalidness of Indian life. A boy of the company having gone astray in the woods, a party of ten men went for him in a boat to the southern coast of the bay, whither they heard that he had wandered. They went to Cummaquid, now Barnstable, and to Nauset, now Eastham; and again making themselves understood with Squanto's help, they accomplished their object, and made arrangements to pay at Plymouth for the corn to which they had helped themselves on their first arrival. Returning, they found the settlement disturbed by information which had been received of a conspiracy formed against Massasoit by subjects of his who were dissatisfied with his friendship for the foreigners. Standish, with some twelve men, went to the wigwam of the chief conspirator, and, in his absence, Aug. 14 disarmed his people, without killing any; — a demonstration so serviceable, that, before long, nine sachems, representing jurisdictions extending from Charles River to Buzzard's Bay, Sept. 13. came into the town, and subscribed a writing by which they "acknowledged themselves to be loyal subjects of King James." Lastly, Standish and nine others, still attended by Squanto, made a visit to what was to be the harbor of Sept. 21. Boston. Going on shore, and walking a few miles into the country, they observed land which had been cultivated, two forts in decay, untenanted

huts, and other tokens of recent depopulation. They noted "the fair entrance" of the River Charles, and came back with accounts of the place they had seen, such as naturally made their friends "wish they had been seated there." But it was too late to begin anew.

The husbandry of the first summer had been prosperous on its small scale. The crop of pease failed, but the barley was "indifferent good," and there was "a good increase of Indian-corn." Fish and game were abundant. By the autumn, seven substantial dwellings had been built. Health was restored. The Governor sent out a party to hunt, "that so they might, after a special manner, rejoice together after they had gathered the fruit of their labors;" — the first celebration of the national festival of New England, the autumnal Thanksgiving. On that occasion of hilarity they "exercised their arms," and for three days "entertained and feasted" Massasoit and some ninety of his people, who made a contribution of five deer to the festivity.

Before winter set in, tidings came from England, and a welcome addition was made to the sadly diminished number. The Fortune, a vessel of fifty-five tons' burden, arrived at Plymouth with Cushman and some thirty other emigrants.

It must be borne in mind that the community planted at Plymouth was not of a strictly homogeneous character. The devoted men who at Leyden debated the question of emigration did not com-

pose the whole company even of the Mayflower, nor is it known that they had any effectual control over the selection of those companions whom their partners, the *Merchant Adventurers*, sent with them from England, and some of whom actually turned out to be unworthy persons. So of the twenty-five men brought out by the Fortune, some were old friends of the congregation at Leyden, others were persons who added to the moral as well as to the numerical strength of the settlement; but there were not wanting such as became subjects for anxiety and coercion.

The Fortune brought over a patent from the recently constituted "Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ordering, ruling, and governing of New England in America." This patent was obtained by the friends of the colony in consequence of the intelligence carried back by the Mayflower, in the spring, respecting the place where the emigrants had established themselves, which was not within the territory disposable by the Virginia Company. The new patent was taken out in the name of John Pierce, citizen and cloth-worker of London, and his associates, with the understanding that it should be held in trust for the Adventurers, of whom Pierce was one.

At the end of five weeks after her arrival, the Fortune sailed again for England. Cushman returned in her, to make a personal report to the Adventurers. She carried homeward

Dec. 13.

"two hogsheads of beaver-skins, and good clapboards as full as she could hold; the freight estimated at five hundred pounds." But near the coast of England she was captured and pillaged by a French privateer.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY PROGRESS OF PLYMOUTH.

In seven years more the colony of Plymouth worked its way to a secure and comfortable establishment; but its progress was made through not a few dangers and troubles.

It was but a transient gleam of prosperity that had cheered the exiles at the close of their first summer in America. Through nearly the whole of the next two years they suffered grievously from hunger. In the second summer after the landing, "the crop proved scanty, partly through weakness, for want of food, to tend it, partly through other business, and partly by much being stolen," while still unripe, by some disorderly persons who had been sent out to make a plantation by the "Adventurer" Thomas Weston. The main reliance of the colonists was upon shell-fish; they obtained some corn and beans from the Indians, and some bread from fishing-vessels; and with these supplies, eked out with game and ground-nuts, they managed to sustain life.

Weston's company did worse by the colony than stealing its corn. They involved it in its first quarrel with the natives. Having established themselves at Wessagussett, (now Wey- 1622.

mouth,) Weston's men wasted their provisions, and to supply themselves made depredations on the Indians in their neighborhood. From various quarters intelligence came to Plymouth that the Indians along the coast had conspired to avenge this wrong, and that their undiscriminating resentment would include the friendly settlers at Plymouth, who had interposed with the new-comers in their behalf, and had even straitened themselves to relieve that want which was the excuse for encroaching upon them. Massasoit, the Pokanoket chief, taken ill at this time, was visited by Winslow, who nursed and cured him; and the savage, in the overflow of his gratitude, informed his guest that mischief was brewing. The General Court of Plymouth, having become satisfied of the necessity for rough action, sent Standish, with eight men, to Wessagussett, where the ringleaders were met. The English party had a fight with them, killing six and dispersing the rest. Weston's settlement was abandoned, and the natives occasioned no further alarm.

1623. March 23.

Weston's enterprise, embarked in with far better apparent prospects than those of the poor colony at Plymouth, was now at an end. Coming over soon afterwards to look after his affairs, he was shipwrecked between the Piscataqua and the Merrimack, and robbed by the Indians, even to the clothes he wore. In this plight he found his way to Plymouth, where the settlers treated him kindly notwithstanding his misconduct to them, and sup-

plied him with furs to trade with. But he never prospered afterwards. He went to Virginia, and thence back to England. From a thriving London merchant he was now a ruined man.

Nor was his scheme of a colony in New England the only one that came to nothing or languished, while the starving plantation at Plymouth struggled vigorously on. In England, the Virginia Company and the Council for New England were at feud, the latter being in favor with the King, the former with the patriotic party in the House of Commons. The Commons passed a bill designed to arrest the arbitrary proceedings of the Council towards fishermen in the New-England seas, but it had not become a law when Parliament was prorogued. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was the soul of the Council for New England, had a friend, named John Mason, who had formerly spent some little time in Newfoundland, and was now Treasurer of the Royal Navy and Governor of Portsmouth in Hampshire. Mason obtained from the Council of New England a grant of the territory lying between the little river which discharges its waters at Naumkeag, now Salem, and the River Merrimack; and to this tract, extending inland to the sources of those streams, he gave the name of *Mariana*. In the same year the Council granted to Gorges and Mason the country bounded by the Merrimack, the Kennebec, the ocean, and the "river of Canada," and this territory they called *Laconia*. By Mason's inter-

1622. March 9.

Aug. 10.

est with Gorges, Sir William Alexander obtained from the Council a patent for *Nova Scotia*, or New
1621. Sept. 10. Scotland, which was afterwards confirmed by the king, under the seal of his northern kingdom. Perhaps Saco, on the river of that name, and Agamenticus, afterwards York, may have received some English inhabitants, under the patronage of Gorges, within three or four years after the occupancy of Plymouth. In the service of Gorges,
1623. Mason, and others, settlements were attempted at the mouth of the Piscataqua, where is now Portsmouth, and higher up that stream, at Cochecho, now Dover. Fishermen and traders began to resort to Pemaquid, and to the neighboring island of Monhegan. Captain Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, having been appointed by the Council for New England to be "General Governor of the country," revived the attempt to plant a colony at Wessagussett. His personal observations did not encourage the scheme, and he returned to England with some of his companions. A portion of them, left behind, among whom was Morrell, an Episcopal clergyman, who wrote a Latin poem descriptive of the country, were assisted for a while with supplies from Plymouth. But their patience, too, wore out; and a second time the scheme of a considerable settlement at Wessagussett was abandoned, and only a few persevering or lazy persons still remained there. Captain Wol-
1625. laston, with some thirty or forty companions attempted a settlement on a bluff which

still bears his name, on the sea-shore, in what is now the town of Quincy; but he soon withdrew with part of his company to Virginia, and presently sent for a portion of the rest. A small party from the west of England sat down at Cape Ann for purposes of planting and fishing. But for the present their operations had no importance.

From the better prospect of the plantation at Plymouth arose an occasion of alarm to the settlers there. John Pierce, in whose name the patent had been taken for the joint benefit of the *Adventurers*, conceived the scheme of securing it for his private advantage, and contrived to supersede it by another which he obtained from the Council for New England, with provisions, which, as the settlers construed them, would "hold them as his tenants, and to sue to his courts as chief lord." Pierce sailed for Plymouth to push his claim, but by tempestuous weather was twice driven back, with serious damage. Informed of the fraud that had been practised, the Adventurers made a complaint to the Council, which was entertained and discussed by that board, and the issue was that Pierce's new patent was cancelled, and the Adventurers, with their partners, the colonists, were reinstated in their rights.

1622 April 20.

Oct. 16.

1623. May 28.

Meanwhile, the distress from scarcity of food had continued at Plymouth. When the settlers had planted in the third spring, "all their victuals were spent, and they were only to rest on God's

providence, at night many times not knowing where to have a bit of anything the next day. . . . . Sometimes, two or three months together, they neither had bread nor any kind of corn. . . . . They were divided into several companies, six or seven to a gang or company, and so went out with a net they had bought, to take bass and such-like fish, by course. Neither did they return till they had caught something, though it were five or six days before; for they knew there was nothing at home, and to go home empty would be a great discouragement to the rest. Yea, they strove who should do best. If the boat stayed long, or got little, then all went to seeking of shell-fish, which at low water they digged out of the sands. . . . . Also in the summer they got now and then a deer; for one or two of the fittest was appointed to range the woods for that end, and what was got that way was divided amongst them."

A drought prevailed from planting-time till mid-summer, and "the most courageous were now discouraged." A day was appointed for fasting and prayer, and the religious services lasted "some eight or nine hours." When they began, "the heavens were as clear and the drought as like to continue as ever." As they proceeded, the sky was overcast; and while the thankful worshippers withdrew, a rain began to fall, which continued for a fortnight in "such soft, sweet, and moderate showers as it was hard to say whether their withered corn or drooping affections were most quick-

July.

ened or revived." A fire was set to their storehouse, through carelessness or for mischief, and before it was got under, five hundred pounds' worth of stores was consumed. In the preservation of the rest, as well as in the seasonable rain, was confidently recognized the interposition of a special providence. Nov.

The third year was now drawing to a close, and the worst hardships of the enterprise were over. "Now God gave them plenty, and the face of things was changed to the rejoicing of the hearts of many. . . . . All had, one way and other, pretty well to bring the year about, and some of the abler sort and more industrious had to spare and sell to others." The seasonable rains were not the only thing that made the harvest plentiful. This year was the first in which a stimulus of individual interest had quickened the alacrity of toil. To each family, in place of the partnership labor hitherto maintained, had been assigned in the spring the cultivation and usufruct of a separate parcel of land, the unmarried persons being each attached to some family, and a provision being added that each cultivator should at harvest-time "bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of public officers, fishermen, &c." This method "made all hands very industrious, so as much more corn was planted than otherwise would have been; and it gave far better content. The women now went willingly into the field, and took their little ones with them to set corn, whom to have com-

pelled would have been thought great tyranny and oppression."

Two vessels, the Ann and the Little James, had, towards the end of summer, brought a reinforcement of settlers, who, with the colonists of the Mayflower and the Fortune, were afterwards distinguished from later emigrants by the titles of *old-comers* and *forefathers*. Sixty persons of those who now arrived were "for the general," that is, under contract with the Adventurers; and of these some were members of the families of earlier emigrants, or had belonged to the congregation at Leyden. A few others came in such circumstances as to introduce a new element into the social system of Plymouth. They were under an engagement "to be subject to the general government;" but, coming at their own charge, they were free to choose their own employments.

1624. In the spring following the happy change of affairs, Bradford reluctantly consented to accept the place of Governor for the fourth time, five Assistants being now associated with him in the magistracy, instead of one as heretofore. He had justly estimated the operation of the division of labor introduced in the preceding year, and the plan was now extended so as to allot to each householder an acre of land near the town, to be held in severalty till the expiration of the seven years' partnership with the Adventurers. The quantity of land thus distributed was small, to the end "that they might be kept close together, both for more safety and defence."

Plymouth was now in a thriving condition, if its prosperity was on no imposing scale. According to information which reached John Smith, in England, there were at the settlement "about a hundred and eighty persons; some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry; thirty-two dwelling-houses; . . . . . the town impaled about half a mile compass; in the town, upon a high mount, a fort well built with wood, loam, and stone; also a fair watch-tower; . . . . . and this year they had freighted a ship of a hundred and eighty tons." Fifty English ships were on the coast, engaged in fishing, and every ship was an enlargement of their market for purchases and sales. "It pleased the Lord to give the plantation peace, and health, and contented minds, and so to bless their labors as they had corn sufficient, and some to spare to others, with other food; neither ever had they any supply of food but what they first brought with them."

In the Ann, on her return voyage, Winslow had gone to England, to make a personal report to the Adventurers, and to procure supplies. He came back, after an absence of eight months, bringing "three heifers and a bull, the first beginning of any cattle of that kind in the land, with some clothing, and other necessaries." But he brought also an unpleasant "report of a strong faction among the Adventurers against the planters, and against the coming of the rest from Leyden."

The London Adventurers were partners in a

commercial speculation. Some of them had more or less sympathy in religious sentiment with Robinson's followers, but they were outnumbered by those who were either of the opposite inclining, or else solely intent on money-making. Their policy of course was to keep in favor with the Court, and with the Council for New England, in which Sir Ferdinando Gorges and other churchmen were leaders. Accordingly, there is no question that they took care to obstruct Robinson's plan of going to America, and there collecting his scattered flock. Robinson was the recognized head of the English Independents, and no name could have been uttered in the courtly circles with worse omen than his to the views of the majority of the Adventurers in respect to their plantation in America.

Nor was this the worst of their interference. The circumstances of the case, and developments that speedily followed, clearly enough indicated that some of the persons who had lately come "on their particular," came, in concert with the "strong faction among the Adventurers," on the errand of subverting the existing government and order at Plymouth. They were soon followed by a preacher named Lyford, whom Winslow, who had heard no flattering account of him, only consented to bring out "to give content to some in London." Lyford at first recommended himself by exuberant professions of Puritan piety, but was soon known to have connected himself closely with John Oldham, a passenger in the Ann, "a chief stickler

in the faction among the particulars." They wrote to England, calumniating the colony, and recommending a radical change in its management, and, with "some of the weaker sort of the company," set up a separate worship, insulted the Governor, and resisted military orders. Both were ordered to leave the colony. Oldham went to establish himself at Nantasket, the southern cape of Boston Bay, whither he was before long followed by his confederate, who had obtained a respite of his sentence by promises of better conduct, which he failed to keep. 1624. July. 1625. March.

In another point of view the "breach and sequestration" among the Adventurers proved greatly beneficial to the colonists. Discouraged by the debt that had been incurred, two thirds of the number of Adventurers in London withdrew from the partnership. Those who remained were believed, at Plymouth, to be willing to receive favorably proposals for a release from the engagement which had proved advantageous to neither party; and Standish was despatched to England to learn what terms could be made. He returned, after opening the business, and Allerton was sent to pursue it. Standish brought to Plymouth the afflicting intelligence of the death of Robinson, at Leyden, the year before. 1626.

Allerton's mission succeeded. He adjusted with the Adventurers the preliminaries of an arrangement for discharging the planters from their contract of service and partnership. For the 1627.

sum of eighteen hundred pounds, payable in nine equal annual instalments, the Adventurers were to convey to the planters "every their stocks, shares, lands, merchandise, and chattels;" and "seven or eight of the chief of the place became jointly bound for the payment of this eighteen hundred pounds, in the behalf of the rest, at the several days." A partnership was now formed of all the men on the spot, of suitable age and prudence, "particulars" as well as "generals," under an agreement that the trade should "be managed as before, to help pay the debts," in the way of a joint-stock company. A division followed of the stock and land, hitherto the joint property of the Adventurers and of their associates on the soil. The houses became private estate by an equitable assignment. Vassalage to the foreign merchants was at an end. Henceforward there were to be New-England freeholders.

Another business arrangement followed. Seven of the passengers in the Mayflower, with Thomas Prince, who came in the Fortune, entered into an engagement with the colony to farm its trade for the term of six years.[1] In consideration of the sole right of trading, of an annual payment to them by each colonist of three bushels of corn or six pounds of tobacco, and of the transfer to them of the public stock of property for traffic, including three vessels, they agreed to make the annual payments due to the London partners; to discharge the other debts of the plantation, amounting to about six

hundred pounds more; and to bring over, every year, fifty pounds' worth of hoes and shoes, and sell them for corn at six shillings a bushel. Allerton was despatched again to England, where he paid the first instalment to the Adventurers, obtained the due conveyance and release on a delivery of the bonds, and discharged all other debts except those due to four friends who agreed to become partners in the six years' hire of the trade. He also obtained from the Council for New England a patent for land on the River Kennebec, which was presently turned to account by the erection of "a house up above on that river, in the most convenient place for trade." Three years before, Winslow had discovered the importance of this acquisition. From the Kennebec, whither he had gone with a few others in an open boat, he had "brought home seven hundred pounds of beaver, besides some other furs," paying for them with "corn, which themselves had raised out of the earth." 1625.

Plymouth might now be considered a well organized community, with a fair prospect of stability and growth. The condition of other settlements on and about Massachusetts Bay is illustrated by an occurrence which followed upon the abandonment by Captain Wollaston of his enterprise. Among those of his company who remained behind, when he went to Virginia, was one Thomas Morton, said to have "been a kind of pettifogger of Furnival's Inn." Morton displaced the per-

son left by Wollaston in charge, and at Merry Mount, as he called his hold, kept up a course of license and revelry which gave sore offence to all his sober countrymen who were within hearing distance of it. By enticing away their servants, he increased his rabble rout. But what made him an intolerable nuisance was, that, to support his wild way of life, he sold fire-arms and ammunition to the natives. The Plymouth people, at the instance of other parties similarly interested, sent to Morton "to admonish him to forbear these courses." The bearer of the message was sent back with affront, as was another, who went on the same errand. Captain Standish, the third messenger, took "some other aid with him." Morton barricaded his house, defied the invaders, and excited his comrades with drink. Standish disarmed and dispersed them, and conducted their leader to Plymouth, whence he was sent to England, with accounts of the proceeding, addressed to the Council for New England, and to Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

1628.

The contributions to the expense of this expedition, from settlements and from individuals, are on record. The settlements were Plymouth; Piscataqua (Portsmouth); Naumkeag, presently to be spoken of; and Nantasket, the seat of Oldham's party. The individual contributors were "Mr Jeffrey and Mr. Burslem," whose dwellings were perhaps at Winnisimmett, now Chelsea; Edward Hilton, seated at Cochecho, on the river Piscataqua

William Blaxton, who had made a farm on the peninsula of Shawmut, afterwards Boston; and Mrs. Thompson, widow of David Thompson, who had removed from Piscataqua to the island still called by his name in Boston harbor.

Within the same circuit there were, perhaps, solitary planters, whose names do not appear in the transaction. Thomas Walford may have been already, where he was found presently after, on the peninsula of Mishawum (since Charlestown), and Samuel Maverick on Noddle's Island, hard by. Probably there were a few Englishmen at Cape Ann and Wessagussett. Plymouth had extended itself westwardly to Buzzard's Bay, by an outpost on Manomet River, kept by "some servants who planted corn, and reared some swine."

On both sides of New England, settlements had now been attempted by planters not of English blood. The French attempts at colonization east and north of that territory had at no period had much success; in the war which now took place, Quebec was captured by the English, 1629. and for a time New France was stricken from the map of America. On the western side, a few scores of trading Dutchmen had collected at the mouth of the river which Henry Hudson, whose name it bears, had discovered while in command of a vessel in the service of the Dutch East 1609. India Company. Their hamlet, which they called *New Amsterdam*, (now New York,) is believed to have had at this time a population 1628.

of two hundred and seventy persons. Manhattan Island, on which it stood, they had bought from the natives for a consideration about equivalent to twenty-four dollars. The settlers at New Plymouth and at New Amsterdam had not only heard of each other, but they had become jealous of each other's plans for occupation of territory and for trade; and an official of the latter place had
1627. visited New Plymouth, and composed an interesting description of it, which has been transmitted to our time.

CHAPTER VII.

ORIGIN OF MASSACHUSETTS.

TWENTY years had now passed since the Separatists of the Scrooby congregation fled to Holland, whence some of them came to found the colony at Plymouth. That period had witnessed a vigorous growth and spread, in their native country, of the Puritanism which was educating the English people for freedom.

Seventeen years of the rule of James the First had intervened. The reign of that imbecile monarch marked the transition from a scarcely disturbed acquiescence in arbitrary government to the incipient triumph of popular principles in England. In his long quarrel with his Parliaments, little, it is true, had been effected for popular rights in the way of legislative action. But the spirit and courage of men in public and private life had been raised; and the exigencies of the time had led to investigations into the principles of politics, which were destined to bear abundant fruit. Though, unable to withstand the severity of the government, the Separatists had fled from the kingdom, or disbanded their congregations, Puritan non-conformity had largely extended its numbers and power

within the Church, and an attentive observer might discern a constant advance of the Non-conformist party towards an occupation of the Separatist ground.

When James died, the accession of a new sovereign invited the friends of freedom in the English Church and State to mark out a definite policy for the future. The experience of the late reign had alike shown the need and the practicability of strong proceedings, and afforded encouragement as to their happy effect. Whether the patriots had been more or less admonished by their observations on the character of the young successor to the throne, at any rate his close ties with the Duke of Buckingham, the corrupt courtier who had swayed his father's counsels, were enough to make him liable to their extreme distrust; and they deliberately resolved to keep King Charles's power in check by the frugality of their grants of money. As yet, there was not, properly speaking, an English constitution. They were resolved that there should be. They saw that the time had come for determining whether Englishmen should live in future under an absolute or under a limited and balanced monarchy; and they launched upon the course of measures which was to solve that momentous question.

1625. March 27.

For four years the conflict went on, and at the end of them the victory seemed to be with the King. In pursuance of the patriot policy, Parliament doled out supplies with a penurious hand

while it complained to him of the lenity shown to Papists, and prayed for more indulgence to the Non-conformist clergy. But, by economy on the one hand, and by extortion on the other, Charles the First learned to take care of himself. He relieved his exchequer by forced loans. He levied tonnage and poundage without the authority of an act of Parliament. He encumbered the crown lands. He rigorously enforced fines for religious delinquency. At length, in a passion, he dissolved his third Parliament, and from that day England was an absolute monarchy for eleven years. All hope of legislative relief was over for the present. "By our frequent meeting with our people," said the King in a proclamation, "we have showed our love to the use of Parliaments; yet the late abuse having for the present driven us unwillingly out of that course, we shall account it presumption for any to prescribe any time unto us for Parliaments, the calling, continuing, and dissolving of which is always in our own power; and we shall be more inclinable to meet in Parliament again, when our people shall see more clearly into our interests and actions." 1629. March 10.

As this dismal state of things approached, and especially when it was reached, patriotic and religious Englishmen asked themselves and one another what was the course of honor and of safety. While some among them still looked for relief to a renewal and a happy issue of the struggle that had been going on in Parliament, and resigned them-

selves to await, and help on, the progress of a political and religious reformation in the kingdom, others, less confident or less patient, pondered on exile as the best resource, and turned their view to a new home on the Western continent.

Since the second year of King James the First, Mr. John White, "a famous Puritan divine," had been rector of a church in Dorchester, the shire town of Dorset. A scheme of colonization was suggested to him by circumstances of his position. Dorchester, near the British Channel, furnished numbers of those who made voyages to New England for fishing and trade, and who were sometimes together upon the coast for several months. The good prospect of the enterprise at Plymouth was now known in the Puritan circles in England. Mr. White conceived the plan of establishing another settlement on Massachusetts Bay, where the Dorchester sailors might have a home and be brought under religious influences when not at sea, and where supplies might be provided for them by farming, hunting, and trading. To this end he interested himself with the ship-owners of his parish, and the result was the formation of an unincorporated joint-stock association, under the name of the "Dorchester Adventurers," which collected a capital of three thousand pounds.

The adventurers turned their attention to the spot, on Cape Ann, where now stands the town of Gloucester. It was included in a parcel of land then understood, though the transaction was after

wards regarded as invalid, to have been granted to Lord Sheffield by the Council for New England. Lord Sheffield had sold it to Winslow for the Plymouth people; and from them White and his associates obtained such a site as was wanted for their purposes of fishing and planting. Fourteen persons in the service of the Adventurers came out to Cape Ann with a supply of live stock. But the undertaking did not prosper. The price of fish went down. The vessels of the company met with accidents. The colonists, "being ill chosen and ill commanded, fell into many disorders, and did little service." 1623.

The partners tried again. They heard of "some religious and well-affected persons that were lately removed out of New Plymouth, out of dislike of their principles of rigid separation, of which number Mr. Roger Conant was one, a religious, sober, and prudent gentleman." Conant, whose earlier history is not known, was then at Nantasket, with Lyford and Oldham. The partners engaged Conant "to be their Governor" at Cape Ann, and Lyford to be minister there. But matters did not mend, and "the Adventurers were so far discouraged that they abandoned the further prosecution of this design, and took order for the dissolving of the company on land, and sold away their shipping and other provisions."

Mr. White did not share in their discouragement. Probably he had all along had an object different from what had been disclosed. At his

instance, "a few of the most honest and industrious resolved to stay behind, and to take charge of the cattle sent over the year before; and, not liking
1626. their seat at Cape Ann, chosen especially for the supposed commodity of fishing, they transported themselves to Nahunkeike, about four or five leagues distant to the southwest." White wrote to Conant, exhorting him "not so to desert the business, faithfully promising that, if himself, with three others, whom he knew to be honest and prudent men, namely, John Woodbury, John Balch, and Peter Palfrey, employed by the Adventurers, would stay at Naumkeag, and give timely notice thereof, he would provide a patent for them, and likewise send them whatever they should write for, either men, or provision, or
1627. goods wherewith to trade with the Indians." They yielded to his urgency, and "stayed to the hazard of their lives."

It is uncertain how comprehensive had been the plans of White down to this time; — whether the scheme now developed by him and others had been entertained from the beginning, and the sending out of a few persons to till and fish had been intended to prepare the way for a large emigration; or whether the more extensive project was now first conceived, and White's previous movement, originally independent of it, was seized upon for its promotion. At all events, in the critical interval between the second and third Parliaments of Charles the First, when the arbitrary policy of that

monarch had been plainly disclosed, "the business [of founding a colony in New England] came to agitation afresh in London; . . . . . insomuch that, some men showing some good affection to the work, and offering the help of their purses if fit men might be procured to go over, inquiry was made whether any would be willing to engage their persons in the voyage. By this inquiry it fell out, that, among others, they lighted at last on Master Endicott, a man well known to divers persons of good note, who manifested much willingness to accept of the offer as soon as it was tendered, which gave great encouragement to such as were upon the point of resolution to set on this work of erecting a new colony upon the old foundation." Six persons, of whom Endicott was one, obtained from the Council for New England the grant of a tract of land extending in length from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, and in width from a line of latitude three miles north of the River Merrimack to a line three miles south of the River Charles. The dimensions of the domain indicate that the projected colony was not intended to be an inconsiderable one. 1628. March 19.

Within six months after this arrangement, Endicott had conducted a small party to Naumkeag, which thenceforward took the name of *Salem*, or "peaceful." The "old planters" and the new-comers together composed a company of "not much above fifty or sixty persons." Before winter an exploring party visited Sept. 6.

Mishawum, now Charlestown, and another party went to Morton's hold, at Merry Mount, or, as Endicott called it, *Mount Dagon*, where they cut down the May-pole, and urgently advised that "there should be better walking." The winter at Salem proved sickly; an "infection that grew among the passengers at sea spread also among them ashore, of which many died."

In England, meanwhile, political affairs had gone on from worse to worse, and whatever reasons existed for patriotic Englishmen to look for a refuge in a foreign land had been multiplying and strengthening. Six days before that dissolution of King Charles's third Parliament which reduced England to the condition of an absolute monarchy, the six persons who had obtained the patent for land in Massachusetts Bay, with twenty new associates, found means to procure a royal charter, making them a corporation under the name of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England." To them the charter confirmed the ownership of the land already possessed by the six patentees. It empowered them and their associates and successors forever to elect annually a Governor, Deputy Governor, and eighteen Assistants, and to make laws and ordinances not repugnant to the laws of England. It authorized the company to admit new partners; to transport settlers; to encounter and repel enemies; and to constitute inferior officers as they should think proper for the ordering and managing

1629. March 4.

of their affairs. This is the instrument under which the Colony of Massachusetts was administered for fifty-five years.

Choosing Matthew Cradock, a London merchant, to be their Governor, and continuing Endicott at the head of affairs at Salem, the new corporation lost no time in despatching a reinforcement of colonists. Six vessels were prepared, and license was obtained from the Lord Treasurer for the embarkation of "eighteen women and maids, twenty-six children, and three hundred men, with victuals, arms and tools, and necessary apparel," and with "one hundred and forty head of cattle, and forty goats." A committee of the company were careful "to make plentiful provision of godly ministers." The first three vessels conveyed four ministers. One of them, Bright, returned to England in the following summer, probably from dissatisfaction with ecclesiastical proceedings which followed. Another, Smith, went for the present to the fishing-station at Nantasket. Skelton, from whose ministry Endicott had "formerly received much good," and Higginson, "a reverend, grave minister," formerly rector of a church at Leicester, established themselves at Salem.

April 16

June.

Higginson wrote home: — "When we came first to Naumkeag, we found about half a score of houses, and a fair house newly built for the governor. We found also abundance of corn planted by them, very good and well-liking. And we brought

with us about two hundred passengers and planters more, which, by common consent of the old planters, were all combined together into one body politic, under the same governor. There are in all of us, both old and new planters, about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Naumkeag, now called Salem, and the rest have planted themselves at Massachusetts Bay, beginning to build a town there, which we do call Charton or Charlestown. . . . . But that which is our greatest comfort and means of defence above all other, is, that we have here the true religion and holy ordinances of Almighty God taught among us. Thanks be to God, we have here plenty of preaching and diligent catechising, with strict and careful exercise and good and commendable orders to bring our people into a Christian conversation with whom we have to do withal. And thus we doubt not but God will be with us; and if God be with us, who can be against us?"

What had been the plans and expectations formed in England by the emigrants in respect to the religious institutions of their future home, it is impossible to define with certainty. Probably as yet no definiteness nor absolute uniformity existed. Skelton, if John Cotton was well informed upon the fact, was a Separatist before leaving his native country. Higginson appears to have as yet got no further than Non-conformity; and the same was probably the state of mind of most of his compan ions when they came away. But the time tha

had since elapsed, short though it was, had witnessed a natural progress from the half-way doctrine. The same course of thought that had led any to take the first step of separation from the Church of the State could scarcely fail, when local obstacles were removed, to impel them to the second. A six weeks' voyage away from familiar scenes must needs have opened a long religious experience. In a North-American wild, the conventional associations were dissolved. It is striking to observe to what an extent, as one party after another of earnest men came to confer together on New-England soil, they had grown to be of one mind in rejecting the whole constitution of the English Establishment. Not a fragment of the hierarchical order found a place in the ecclesiastical organization of New England.

Skelton and Higginson found Endicott in full sympathy with their own advanced views. During the sickness that prevailed in the preceding winter, Fuller, the physician of Plymouth, had come to Salem to render his professional assistance. With him Endicott had edifying conferences; and the result was to confirm him in the opinion that the Separatist theory and practice of the Leyden and the Plymouth church were in conformity with the pattern in the gospel.

The first church in Massachusetts was constituted accordingly. Four weeks had not passed after the last arrival of colonists, [July 20.] when on a day appointed for the choice of a

pastor and teacher, after prayer, fasting, and a sermon, Mr. Skelton was chosen to the former office, and Mr. Higginson to the latter. Mr. Higginson then offered a prayer, while he and three or four of the gravest men laid their hands on Mr. Skelton's head; and then, for the consecration of Mr. Higginson, a like service was conducted by his colleague. The next step was to gather a church, or society of communicants. Mr. Higginson drew "a confession of faith and church covenant, according to Scripture," and an invitation was despatched to the church at Plymouth to send messengers to witness the further proceeding. The day appointed for it having arrived, the two ministers prayed and preached; thirty persons assented to the covenant, and associated themselves together as a church; the ministers, whose dedication to the sacred office had appeared incomplete till it was made by a church constituted by mutual covenant, were ordained to their respective offices by the imposition of the hands of some of the brethren appointed by the church; and Governor Bradford, "and some others with him, coming by sea," and being "hindered by cross-winds that they could not be there at the beginning of the day, came into the assembly afterward, and gave them the right hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity and a blessed success unto such good beginnings."

Aug. 6.

The transaction which determined the religious constitution of New England gave offence to two

brothers, named Browne, who were among the most considerable persons of the recent emigration; and they, with others of the same mind, proceeded to set up a separate worship, conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer. Endicott called the brothers to account for their disorderly behavior. They pleaded that the ministers "were Separatists, and would be Anabaptists." The ministers replied, "that they came away from the Common Prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much for their non-conformity in their native land; and therefore, being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of those things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God." There was no composing such a strife; "and therefore, finding those two brothers to be of high spirits, and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the governor told them that New England was no place for such as they, and therefore he sent them both back for England at the return of the ships the same year."

For this he had his warrant in written instructions of the corporation at home, directing that persons who might prove to be not "conformable to their government" should not be suffered "to remain within the limits of their grant." The right of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay to exclude, at their pleasure, dangerous or disagreeable persons from their domain,

they never regarded as questionable, any more than a householder doubts his right to determine who shall be sheltered by his roof. No civilized man had a right to come, or to be, within their chartered limits, except themselves, and such others as they, in the exercise of an absolute discretion, saw fit to harbor. The wisdom of such a use of their right as was now made by their officer and representative would, in existing circumstances, appear to him equally evident. The English hierarchy was immensely powerful, both in its own resources and in the patronage of an absolute monarch. Of its vigilance and cruelty the colonists had had a wellnigh ruinous experience. If it could keep its arms about them, they thoroughly knew from the past what they had to expect from it in the future. They had fled from it to the wild solitude of a distant continent. Should they suffer it to follow them, if they were able to keep it off? A conventicle of a score of persons using the Liturgy might be harmless. But how long would the conventicle be without its surpliced priest? and, when he had come, how far in the distance would be a bishop, armed with the powers of the High Commission Court? and then, would not the emigrants have done better to stay at home?

Meanwhile, a movement of the utmost importance, probably meditated long before, was hastened by external pressure. The state of public affairs in England in the spring and summer of this year had brought numbers to the decision which had

been heretofore approached with sorrowful reluctance; and several persons of character and condition resolved to emigrate at once to the New World. It was necessary to their purpose to secure self-government, as far as it could be exercised by British subjects. Possibly, events might permit and require it to be vindicated even beyond that line. At any rate, to be ruled in America by a commercial corporation in England was a condition in no sort accordant with their aim.

At a General Court of the Company, Cradock, the Governor, "read certain propositions conceived by himself; namely, that for the advancement of the plantation, the inducing and encouraging persons of worth and quality to transplant themselves and families thither, and for other weighty reasons therein contained, [it is expedient] to transfer the government of the plantation to those that shall inhabit there, and not to continue the same in subordination to the company here, as now it is." The corporation entertained the proposal, and, in view of "the many great and considerable consequences thereupon depending," reserved it for deliberation. Two days before its next meeting, twelve gentlemen, assembled at Cambridge, pledged themselves to each other to embark for New England with their families for a permanent residence, provided an arrangement should be made for the charter and the administration under it to be transferred to that country. Legal advice was obtained in favor of the authority to

1629. July 28.

make the transfer; and on full consideration it was determined, "by the general consent of the company, that the government and patent should be settled in New England." The old officers resigned, and their places were filled with persons of whom most or all were expecting to emigrate. John Winthrop was chosen Governor, with John Humphrey for Deputy Governor, and eighteen others for Assistants. Humphrey's departure was delayed, and, on the eve of embarkation, his place was supplied by Thomas Dudley.

Aug. 29.

Winthrop, then forty-two years old, was descended from a family of good condition, long seated at Groton in Suffolk, where he had a property of six or seven hundred pounds a year, the equivalent of at least two thousand pounds at the present day. Commanding uncommon respect and confidence from an early age, he had moved in the circles where the highest matters of English policy were discussed by men who had been associates of Whitgift, Bacon, Essex, and Cecil. Humphrey was "a gentleman of special parts, of learning and activity, and a godly man;" in the home of his father-in-law, Thomas, third Earl of Lincoln, the head, in that day, of the now ducal house of Newcastle, he had been the familiar companion of the patriotic nobles. Of the Assistants, Isaac Johnson, esteemed the richest of the emigrants, was another son-in-law of Lord Lincoln and a landholder in three counties. Sir Richarc Saltonstall, of Halifax, in the West Riding o

Yorkshire, was rich enough to be a bountiful contributor to the company's operations. Thomas Dudley, with a company of volunteers which he had raised, had served, thirty years before, under Henry the Fourth of France, since which time he had managed the estates of the Earl of Lincoln. He was old enough to have lent a shrill voice to the huzzas at the defeat of the Armada, and his military service had indoctrinated him in the lore of civil and religious freedom. Theophilus Eaton, an eminent London merchant, was used to courts, and had been minister of Charles the First in Denmark. Simon Bradstreet, the son of a Nonconformist minister in Lincolnshire, and grandson of "a Suffolk gentleman of a fine estate," had studied at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. William Vassall was an opulent West India proprietor. "The principal planters of Massachusetts," says the prejudiced Chalmers, "were English country gentlemen of no inconsiderable fortunes; of enlarged understandings, improved by liberal education; of extensive ambition, concealed under the appearance of religious humility."

But it is not alone from what we know of the position, character, and objects of those few members of the Massachusetts Company who were proposing to emigrate at this early period, that we are to estimate the power and purposes of that important corporation. It had been rapidly brought into the form which it now bore, by the political exigencies of the age. Its members had

no less in hand than a wide religious and political reform, — whether to be carried out in New England, or in Old England, or in both, it was for circumstances, as they should unfold themselves, to determine. The leading emigrants to Massachusetts were of that brotherhood of men who, by force of social consideration as well as of intelligence and resolute patriotism, moulded the public opinion and action of England in the first half of the seventeenth century. While the larger part stayed at home to found, as it proved, the short-lived English republic, and to introduce elements into the English constitution which had to wait another half-century for their secure reception, another part devoted themselves at once to the erection of free institutions in this distant wilderness.

In an important sense, the associates of the Massachusetts Company were builders of the British, as well as of the New-England Commonwealth. Some ten or twelve of them, including Cradock, the Governor, served in the Long Parliament. Of the four commoners of that Parliament distinguished by Lord Clarendon as first in influence, Vane had been Governor of the Company, and Hampden, Pym, and Fiennes, (all patentees of Connecticut,) if not members, were constantly consulted upon its affairs. The latter statement is also true of the Earl of Warwick, the Parliament's Admiral, and of those excellent persons, Lord Say and Sele, and Lord Brooke,

both of whom at one time proposed to emigrate. The company's meetings brought Winthrop and his colleagues into relation with numerous persons destined to act busy parts in the stirring times that were approaching; — with Moreton and Hewson, afterwards two of the Parliamentary Major-Generals; with Philip Nye, who helped Sir Henry Vane to "cozen" the Scottish Presbyterian Commissioners in the phraseology of the Solemn League and Covenant; with Samuel Vassall, whose name shares with those of Hampden and Lord Say and Sele the renown of the refusal to pay ship-money, and of courting the suit which might ruin them or emancipate England; with John Venn, who, at the head of six thousand citizens, beset the House of Lords during the trial of Lord Strafford, and whom, with thirty-one Londoners, King Charles, after the Battle of Edgehill, excluded from the offer of pardon; with Owen Rowe, the "firebrand of the city."; with Thomas Andrews, the Lord Mayor who proclaimed the abolition of royalty. Sir John Young, named second in the original grant from the Council for New England, as well as in the charter from King Charles, sat in Cromwell's second and third Parliaments. Others of the company, as Vane and Adams, incurred the Protector's displeasure by too uncomplying principles. Six or seven were members of the High Court of Justice for the King's trial, on which occasion they gave a divided vote. Four were members of the Committee of Religion,

the most important committee of Parliament, and one, the counsellor John White, was its Chairman.

He who well weighs the facts which have been presented in connection with the principal emigration to Massachusetts, and other related facts which will offer themselves to notice as we proceed, may find himself conducted to the conclusion, that, when Winthrop and his associates prepared to convey across the water a charter from the King, which, they hoped, would in their beginnings afford them some protection both from himself and, through him, from the powers of Continental Europe, they had conceived a project no less important than that of laying, on this side of the Atlantic, the foundations of a nation of Puritan Englishmen, foundations to be built upon as fast and as largely as circumstances should decide or allow. It would not perhaps be pressing the point too far to say, that, in view of the thick clouds that were gathering over their home, they contemplated the possibility that the time was near at hand when all that was best of what they left behind would follow them to these shores; when a renovated England, secure in freedom and pure in religion, would rise in North America; when a Transatlantic English empire would fulfil, in its beneficent order, the dreams of English patriots and sages of earlier times.

1630. April 7. From the company's ship Arbella, lying in the port of Yarmouth, the Governor and several of his companions took leave of their native

country by an address, which they entitled, "The Humble Request of his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, the Governor and the Company late gone for New England, to the rest of their Brethren in and of the Church of England." They asked a favorable construction of their enterprise, and good wishes and prayers for its success. With a tenacious affection, which the hour of parting made more tender, they said: "We esteem it an honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother, and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes. . . . . Wishing our heads and hearts may be as fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably, befall us, and so commending you to the grace of God in Christ, we shall ever rest your assured friends and brethren." The address is said to have been drawn up by Mr. White, of Dorchester. The phrase "the Church of England," as used in it, must not be quoted as having the technical sense which it now bears. The Church of England meant the aggregate of English Christians, whether, in the upshot of the movements which were now going on, their polity should turn out to be Episcopal, or Presbyterian, or something different from either.

The incidents of the voyage are minutely related in a journal begun by the Governor on ship-board, off the Isle of Wight. Preaching and catechising, fasting and thanksgiving, were duly observed. A record of the writer's meditations on the great design which occupied his mind while he passed into a new world and a new order of human affairs, would have been a document of the profoundest interest for posterity. But the diary contains nothing of that description. On the voyage Winthrop composed a little treatise, which he called, "A Model of Christian Charity." It breathes the noblest spirit of philanthropy. The reader's mind kindles as it enters into the train of thought in which the author referred to "the work we have in hand." "It is," he said, "by a mutual consent, through a special overruling Providence, and more than an ordinary approbation of the churches of Christ, to seek out a place of cohabitation and consortship *under a due form of government, both civil and ecclesiastical.*" The forms and institutions under which liberty, civil and religious, is consolidated and assured, were floating vaguely in the musings of that hour.

March 29.

CHAPTER VIII.

ORGANIZATION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The Arbella had a passage of nine weeks to Salem, where, in a few days, she was joined by three vessels which had sailed in her company. The Assistants Ludlow and Rossiter, with a party from the west country of England, had landed at Nantasket a fortnight before. Seven vessels from Southampton made their voyage three or four weeks later. Seventeen in the whole came before winter, bringing about a thousand passengers. Almost all of these belonged to one or another of the following classes: 1. Such as paid for their passage and were accordingly entitled on their arrival to a specific grant of land; 2. Such as paid a part of the cost of their passage, and on making up the deficiency by their labor, were entitled to the same allowance of land; 3. Indented servants, for whose conveyance their masters were to have a like remuneration; 4. Such as for the exercise of some profession, art, or trade, were to receive a specified compensation from the company. The expenditures which were soon incurred show that considerable sums of money were brought over. June 12.

The reception of the new-comers was discourag-

ing. More than a quarter part of their predecessors at Salem had died during the previous winter, and many of the survivors were ill or feeble. The faithful Higginson was wasting with a hectic
Aug. 6. fever, which soon proved fatal. There was a scarcity of all sorts of provisions, and not corn enough for a fortnight's supply after the arrival of the fleet. "The remainder of a hundred and eighty servants," who, in the two preceding years had been conveyed over at a heavy cost, were discharged from their indentures, to escape the expense of their maintenance. Sickness soon began to spread, and, before the close of autumn, had carried off two hundred of that year's emigration. Death aimed at the "shining mark" he is said to love. Lady Arbella Johnson, coming "from a paradise of plenty and pleasure, which she enjoyed in the family of a noble earldom, into a wilderness of wants," survived her arrival only a month; and her husband, singularly esteemed and beloved by the colonists, died of grief a few weeks after. "He
Sept. 30. was a holy man, and wise; and died in sweet peace."

Giving less than a week to repose and investigations at Salem, Winthrop proceeded with
June 17. a party in quest of some more attractive place for settlement. He traced the River Mystic a few miles up from its mouth, and, after a three days' exploration, returned to Salem to keep the Sabbath. When ten or eleven vessels had
July 8. arrived, a day of public thanksgiving was

observed, in acknowledgment of the divine goodness which had so far prospered the enterprise.

The subject of an ecclesiastical settlement claimed to be first disposed of. One of the new-comers was Mr. John Wilson, son of a prebendary of Rochester, and grand-nephew of Archbishop Grindal. On a day solemnized with prayer and fasting, Mr. Wilson entered into a church covenant with Winthrop, Dudley, and Johnson, after the manner of proceeding at Salem in the year before. Two days after, on a Sunday, the beginners associated with them three of the Assistants, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Sharpe, and Mr. Bradstreet, and two other persons. Yet other additions were made to the church, which, so constituted, elected Mr. Wilson to be its teacher, and ordained him to that charge at Mishawum, already called Charlestown. From the promptness of these measures, it is natural to infer that they had been a subject of consideration and concert before the landing. July 30.

Ten weeks after Winthrop's arrival, the first Cisatlantic Court of Assistants was held at Charlestown. The question first considered was that of provision for the ministers. Sir Richard Saltonstall undertook to have a house built "at his plantation [Watertown] for Mr. Phillips, and the Governor at the other plantation for Mr. Wilson;" and a stipend of thirty pounds a year was assigned to each of those gentlemen. At Mattapan (Dorchester) the "many godly families and people" who came with Rossiter and Ludlow were already Aug. 23.

establishing themselves under the ministry of Mr Warham and Mr. Maverick.

Courts of Assistants were held, about as often as once in three weeks, through the autumn. The business transacted at these was multifarious, and, as was to be expected, the proceedings were not all equally wise. A futile attempt, often afterwards repeated, was made to regulate and define by law the prices of materials and of labor. On the other hand, the early necessities of the infant colony were judiciously provided for, as they successively arose to view. A few specimens of such action will suffice to show its general character. Permission from a majority of the board of Magistrates was made a preliminary to the establishment of any plantation within the limits of the patent. Military instructors were employed for hire. Justices of the Peace and executive peace-officers were appointed. Orders were made against allowing the Indians the use of fire-arms, and against parting with corn to them, or sending it out of the jurisdiction, without a license. Thomas Gray "for divers things objected against him" was ordered "to remove himself out of the limits of the patent," — a use of that right of the company, which was so often exercised afterwards, to possess its soil exclusively, and keep it clear of nuisances. Servants, "either man or maid," were forbidden to "give, sell, or truck any commodity whatsoever without license from their master, during the time of their service." A bounty was offered for the kill

ing of wolves, to be paid by the owners of domestic animals, in sums proportioned to the amount of their stock. Encouragement was given, by a legal rate of toll, to the setting up of a ferry between Charlestown and the opposite peninsula of Shawmut (Boston). These measures, in their circumstantial and miscellaneous character, and in their mixture of legislative, judicial, and executive functions, exemplify the general course of proceedings of the board of Magistrates during the four years through which they continued to be the only governing body.

A severe epidemic sickness broke out at Charlestown. "Almost in every family, lamentation, mourning, and woe was heard, and no fresh food to be had to cherish them. It would assuredly have moved the most locked-up affections to tears, had they passed from one hut to another and beheld the hideous case these people were in. And that which added to their present distress was the want of fresh water." Ascertaining that there was an ample supply of good water close by, at Shawmut, a portion of the people removed to that peninsula. It is said that they were invited by William Blaxton, who had a solitary dwelling there, he having probably come to Boston Bay with Robert Gorges four years before.

At Shawmut was now held, for the first time on this continent, one of those quarterly General Courts of the Company of Massachusetts Bay which were prescribed in the charter. Oct. 19.

At this Court a hundred and eighteen persons, among whom were several of the earlier planters, gave notice of their desire to be admitted to the freedom of the Company. Perhaps it was in apprehension of the consequences of such an irruption of strangers, that a rule was adopted, materially differing from that of the charter, for the choice of the highest magistrates, the enacting of laws, and the appointment of ministerial officers. By an arrangement which soon proved to be out of harmony with the spirit of the time and the place, the Company delegated important attributes of their power to the Assistants. It ordained that the Governor and Deputy-Governor, instead of being chosen by the whole corporation, should be elected by the Assistants from their own number; and that the board of Magistrates, consisting of Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants, "should have the power of making laws, and choosing officers to execute the same." The freemen were divested of all power excepting that of choosing Assistants from year to year.

The plantations through which the Massachusetts settlers were scattered were now eight in number; namely, Salem, Charlestown, Dorchester, Boston, Watertown, Roxbury (where Mr. Pynchon, one of the Assistants, had sat down with a party), Mystic (assigned to Mr. Cradock, and occupied for him by some servants), and Saugus (Lynn), to which place some emigrants of the last year had probably strayed from Salem. Before winter, the

Governor and several of the principal persons had erected and occupied some rude temporary habitations on the peninsula of Boston. A fortification was projected, and the narrow isthmus which connects Boston with Roxbury was fixed on for its site; but before anything was done further than to collect some materials, the spot which is now Old Cambridge was preferred, and the Governor and all but two of the Assistants engaged together to build houses there in the following year.

Dec. 6.

Dec. 28.

With the wretched shelter which was all that most of the recent emigrants had been able to provide, the winter, from the last week in December, when the cold set in, to the middle of February, proved grievously severe. Many died of the scurvy, which disease, Winthrop thought, especially affected "such as fell into discontent, and hankered after their former conditions in England." Suffering from want of food was added to the distresses of the time. Shell-fish had to serve for meat, ground-nuts and acorns for bread. It was a welcome relief when a vessel sent to the southern side of Cape Cod procured a hundred bushels of corn. The scarcity of bread-stuffs in England was such, that, for every bushel of imported flour, when it was to be had, the colonists paid fourteen shillings sterling. A fast had been appointed to be kept throughout the settlements, to implore Divine succor. The day before that which was to be thus solemnized, a vessel arrived from

1631. Feb. 5.

England with supplies, and a public thanksgiving was substituted.

At the opening of spring, several of the emigrants went to England: some, as the minister Wilson and the Assistant Coddington, to bring their families; others, discouraged or for other reasons, not designing to return. A number of the congregation assembled at the Governor's house to bid their Teacher farewell. There was a magistracy on the spot, and the civil order could proceed; but, in the Teacher's absence, some provisional arrangement was necessary for the well being of the church. Mr. Wilson, "praying, and exhorting the congregation to love," committed to Winthrop, Dudley, and Nowell, the ruling elder, the trust of conducting public worship; and, at his request, the Governor commended him and his fellow-voyagers to the Divine protection with prayer.

The time prescribed in the charter of the Company for the annual election of its high officers soon arrived. Winthrop was reëlected Governor "by the general consent of the Court, within the meaning of the patent," Dudley being again associated with him in the second office, and those Assistants of the last year who remained in the colony being also continued in their place. A hundred and eighteen persons at the same time took the freeman's oath, and were admitted to the franchise of the Company. By this act, residents of the territory on Massachusetts Bay became a majority of the English corporation.

May 18.

This first Cisatlantic General Court for election witnessed a proceeding which deeply colored the whole subsequent character and history of the colony. The charter of the Company had prescribed no condition of investment with its franchise — or with what in the circumstances which had arisen was the same thing, the prerogatives of citizenship in the plantation — except the will and vote of those who were already freemen. The freemen now prescribed for themselves and their successors a rule to limit and control their choice. They determined that citizenship should belong only to Christian men, ascertained to be such by the best test which they who had the power of choice knew how to apply. "To the end the body of the commons might be preserved of honest and good men," they "ordered and agreed, that, for the time to come, no man should be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as were members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." Thus they established an aristocracy of a description heretofore unknown. Not birth, nor wealth, nor learning, nor martial skill and prowess, was to confer political power among this peculiar people; but goodness, — goodness of the highest type, — goodness of that purity and force which only the spirit of the Master of Christians can create. The conception, if a delusive and impracticable, was a noble one. Nothing better can be imagined for the administration of a government than that they who conduct it shall

be Christian men, — men of disinterestedness and uprightness of the choicest quality, — men whose fear of God exalts them above every other fear, and whose controlling love of God and man consecrates them to the most generous aims.

Regarded in another point of view, the plan was at once less novel and more feasible. When the fathers of Massachusetts established their religious test of citizenship, it was matter of fearful uncertainty what the faith and ritual of the Church of England would turn out to be. It was too painfully certain what had been the Church's treatment of themselves, and how hardly, without any further backsliding of its own, it was prepared to treat them again, should it come into power on their own soil. They were in error in supposing, that, by the application of a religious test, they might exclude all but good men from their councils. They were not so far from the truth when they expected, by the application of such a test, to shut out from their counsels the emissaries of Wentworth and Laud; and, in their early weakness, nothing was more indispensable than this for their protection.

The circumstances of the time at which this condition of franchise was imposed, were probably thought to call for a prompt decision. Till then there had been no freemen of the Company except those who had become such in England, and might be supposed to be solicitous for the generous objects of its institution. When, at the first meeting in

America, more than a hundred persons presented themselves as candidates for admission, it could not fail to become a subject of grave anxiety to those as yet in possession of the power, what would be the character and purposes of associates who, once received into the corporation, would be able to control its action, and to carry out or defeat the designs of its projectors.

Down to this time, and a little longer, while the freemen may be supposed to have been without much acquaintance with each other, or with their rights and privileges under the charter, the Magistrates appear to have been consolidating power in their own hands. As at the first General Court it had been determined to transfer the power of choosing the Governor and Deputy-Governor from the freemen to the Assistants, so at the second Court a rule was established for proceeding in the choice of Assistants, which, in place of the irresponsible freedom of that annual election *de novo* which was contemplated by the charter, substituted the invidious and difficult process of a vote for the confirmation or removal of those Assistants who were already in office. Thus a precedent was created for a permanent tenure of the Magistracy.

The plan of establishing the capital at Newtown (Cambridge) was relinquished. The site had been laid out, with lines for a fortification, and streets enclosing rectangular spaces; the Deputy-Governor had occupied a newly built house, and the Gov-

ernor had set up the frame of one; when the peaceable aspect of relations with the natives seemed to render a concentration of the colony less important, the superior advantages of the neighboring peninsula for residence and commerce had been perceived, and Winthrop resolved to yield to the importunity of his neighbors, who urged him to remain in Boston. At this Dudley was so strongly displeased, that the Governor was not immediately able to pacify him by the most friendly overtures. His disgust became so serious, that, as his second year of office was drawing to an end, he sent to the Assistants a letter of resignation. At a private meeting they refused to accept it; but he persisted in his purpose for the present. At length, by the good offices of Mr. Wilson and others, a reconciliation was effected; and the good men "ever after kept peace and good correspondency together, in love and friendship," their alliance being subsequently cemented by an intermarriage of their children.

1632. April 3.

May 1.

Aug. 3.

Already an ecclesiastical question threatened discord, bringing into view one of the important relations of the lately instituted condition of the franchise. It was reported that Phillips and Brown, the Pastor and the elder of Watertown, had spoken of "the churches of Rome" as "true churches." Winthrop, Dudley, and Nowell, ruling elder of Boston, visited the place to make inquiry. The doctrine was debated before a number of members of the congregations

1631. July 31.

of Boston and Watertown, and, against only three opposing votes, was determined to be an error. But Brown was pertinacious in his heretical laxity, and the matter was only put to rest after a second visit of the same dignitaries. It can scarcely be doubted that the importance attached to this incident belonged to the political considerations which were understood to be involved. If church-members, rulers as they were to be in Massachusetts, should esteem the Church of Rome a true church, where would be the safety of Massachusetts should England become Popish? Thus out of political forecast a union of Church and State in Massachusetts was already dawning.

Watertown raised another question with the central government. When Newtown ceased to be thought of as the capital town, the plan of fortifying it had not been abandoned; and to defray the expense, a tax of fifty pounds was levied by the Magistrates on twelve plantations. On the reception at Watertown of the warrant for collecting the proportion of this tax due from that town, "the pastor and elder, etc., assembled the people, and delivered their opinion that it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage." It was the English jealousy of illegal taxation. The malcontents, summoned to Boston, were reminded by Winthrop that "this government was in the nature of a Parliament, and that no Assistant could be chosen but by the free-

1632. Feb. 3.

Feb. 17.

men, who had power likewise to remove the Assistants, and put in others;" whereupon they were "fully satisfied"; and "their offence was pardoned, a recantation and submission under their hands" having been first made, which they "were enjoined to read in the assembly the next Lord's Day."

At the next General Court, the hasty step which had been taken of investing the Assistants with the power of choosing the Governor and Deputy-Governor was retraced, and the freemen resumed into their own hands the election of those Magistrates, — a right, however, which they exercised by continuing Winthrop and Dudley in place. At the same time they took the further important step of ordering the choice of "two of every plantation to confer with the Court about raising a public stock," — a measure which proved to be the germ of a second house of legislature. The charter, so far from giving power to the Assistants to lay taxes on all persons living on the Company's lands, did not even authorize them to assess the freemen. The recent opposition at Watertown to an impost had been lawful and reasonable, and, however apparently checked, may be presumed to have been neither subdued in that place, nor confined to it. The names of the sixteen deputies who were chosen from eight towns "to advise about the raising of a common stock," indicate the elementary existence of a party of opposition to the Magistrates. Watertown, for instance, was

May 9.

represented by the factious John Oldham, and by Masters, who had been active in the late movement in Mr. Phillips's church; and Conant and Palfrey, of the set of "old planters," over whom the charter officers had assumed control, appeared for Salem.

A fortification was erected in Boston, men of the neighboring towns laboring on it in succession. Several vessels arrived with passengers and stock, the emigration, though not yet renewed with activity, being more considerable than in the year before. A day of thanksgiving was kept for their safe passage, and for the intelligence which they brought of the prosperity of the Protestant interest in the successes of Gustavus Adolphus against the Emperor. Wilson returned to his parochial charge in Boston. John Eliot, destined to win the name of *Apostle*, had arrived there in the preceding autumn, since which time he had supplied Wilson's place. After an earnest struggle on the part of the Boston people to retain him as Wilson's colleague, a church was organized in Roxbury under his ministry and that of Thomas Welde, who had come about the same time as Wilson; and the Deputy-Governor abandoned his transient home at Newtown to place himself under their spiritual charge. A company from Braintree in England sat down at Mount Wollaston, but, before long, in conformity to an order of the Magistrates, removed to Newtown.

May.

June 13.

May 26.

A transaction of material interest to the colony took place a few months after Wilson's return. His church, originally formed at Charlestown, had soon transferred itself for worship to the opposite peninsula, where the greater part of its members gradually took up their residence. The portion left behind, thirty-three in number, finding the passage of the river inconvenient in bad weather, and having opportunity to secure the services of a minister of their own, determined to organize a separate congregation. Mr. James, recently arrived from England, was placed in charge of it; while Mr. Wilson, who had hitherto been Teacher of the original church, was now chosen to be its Pastor, and a meeting-house was built for him at what was thought a liberal expense. Still following the example of the primitive church at Salem, the Pastor, and Oliver, his ruling elder, assisted by two deacons, offered prayers for each other mutually, with imposition of hands.

Boston was taking the character of the capital town. It was "thought by general consent" to be "the fittest place for public meetings of any place in the Bay." The claim of Blaxton, the earlier occupant, was quieted by "fifty acres of ground set out for him near to his house in Boston, to enjoy forever." It was "ordered that there should be a market kept at Boston, upon every Thursday." The Magistrates directed the building of a house of correction there for the colony to use, and of a dwelling-house for a beadle. A

that time Boston showed only a few cabins, on the eastern declivity and at the foot of a hill which fronted towards the sea. At high water its primitive area, of about two square miles, looked like two islands. A drawbridge was soon thrown across the narrow channel which separated them, and nature had provided for their connection with the mainland by a narrow isthmus, a mile in length. The uneven surface was divided among three hills, since called Beacon Hill, Fort Hill, and Copp's Hill, with their intervening valleys.

The colonists had few natives in their vicinity, and they had little opportunity to acquaint themselves with the more formidable tribes of the interior. In the first spring after Winthrop's arrival, Chickatabot, said to have been then chief sachem of the Massachusetts, visited him with an attendance of his principal men and their wives, bringing from his home on Neponset River the present of a hogshead of Indian corn. Pleased with his hospitable reception, he repeated his visit in a few weeks, and a communication of good offices was established. The Massachusetts Indians were interested to make the English their protectors against the Tarratines, of whose hostility they were in constant dread. A movement of the Tarratines in fact occasioned a momentary uneasiness to the colonists. A hundred warriors of that tribe came up the Merrimack in canoes by night, and, killing several of the friendly natives, stole down as far as

1631. March 23.

Apr. 13–15.

Aug. 8.

Saugus, whence they retraced their steps, terrified by a discharge of the English alarm-guns. This was the first disturbance from the natives in the new colony.

A visit from another native about the time of that of Chickatabot had ultimately more important consequences. An Indian from Connecti-

April 4. cut River came to the Governor with a request "to have some Englishmen to come plant in his country, and offered to find them corn, and give them yearly eighty skins of beaver; and that the country was very fruitful, &c., and wished that there might be two men sent with him to see the country." The object appeared to be to obtain an alliance with the English against the Pequots. "The Governor entertained him at dinner, but would send none with him." A party

1632. April 12. of Narragansett Indians having pursued some Pokanoket allies of Plymouth to an English outpost, Winthrop sent twenty-seven pounds of powder to Standish, who had been despatched to their relief; upon which the Narragansetts withdrew. Four months later, a Narragansett

Aug. 3-5. chief, named Miantonomo, destined to act, at a later time, a conspicuous part in this history, came with his wife and several attendants to Boston, where he was courteously entertained by the Governor. Nothing took place to indicate the design of his visit; but soon after some symptoms of prevailing disaffection on the part of the natives were observed. The Narragansetts were

known to have held meetings, which, as they gave out, related to an expedition against the Nipnets. A friendly *powwow* sent information that a plot was on foot; and, as a measure of precaution, a camp was formed at Boston. The small-pox, which spread among the Indians about this time, was thought by some to have been the main protection of the feeble colony. Possibly it may have been for a consultation on Indian affairs that Winthrop, accompanied by his Pastor, Mr. Wilson, now made a visit to Plymouth. The journey, performed on foot, took two days each way.

The Indians had had no provocation to unfriendliness. Not a foot of land previously in their occupation had been appropriated by the colonists, except by purchase. The region around Massachusetts Bay, almost depopulated by the epidemics which had prevailed before the arrival of the English, was for the most part vacant for their possession, without interference with the rights of any earlier inhabitant. The English Company, in its instructions to the settlers, had been scrupulously tender of the claims, and thoughtful for the welfare, of the aborigines of the soil. And through the whole period of the colonial history, the legislation respecting the natives was eminently just and humane.

The last harvest raised by the English in and about Boston had been scanty, by reason of cold and wet weather through the summer. The supplies brought from England were inadequate; and,

the winter which succeeded proving a severe one, the settlers suffered scarcely less than in that which immediately followed their arrival.

The hardship would have been greater, had there been a larger number of recently arrived emigrants to provide for. But in the year after the great emigration not quite a hundred came, and in the following year only about two hundred and fifty. Persons in England who were meditating a removal were naturally willing further to watch the experiment that was in progress; and what they had learned respecting it had not been highly encouraging. The accounts which had been received of sickness and famine, and the return of some whose resolution had not held out, had tended to give a check to the enterprise. Moreover, representations injurious to the colony had been made by the Brownes, Morton, and others, who had fallen under its censure. These, backed by the great interest of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and of John Mason, who was concerned with him in the eastern grants, had not been without effect upon the minds of men in power. The malcontents had actually prevailed to have their complaints entertained by the Privy Council, and well-founded apprehensions of annoyance from the home government were felt by the friends of the colony.

This storm, however, blew over for the time. Cradock, Humphrey, and Saltonstall appeared in the Company's behalf before a committee of the

Council, and had the address or the good fortune to vindicate their clients. The complaint was dismissed; and the Council went so far as to pronounce "that the adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertakings, and to rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when the patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patents it was appointed, his Majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply anything further that might tend to the good government of the place, and prosperity and comfort of his people there." 1633. Jan. 19.

At the annual election in the following spring, for a fourth time Winthrop was made Governor, and Dudley Deputy-Governor; and the eight Assistants of the last year were rechosen, with the addition of Sir Richard Saltonstall, who was expected soon to return from England. May 29.

CHAPTER IX.

MASSACHUSETTS AND PLYMOUTH.

The death of Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury made way for the accession of the furious Laud to the primacy. This event was nearly contemporaneous with a renewal of emigration to New England, which it is not unlikely to have prompted.

1633. The number of Englishmen that came in this year to settle in Massachusetts was about seven hundred. In one of the companies

Sept. 4. came John Haynes, an opulent landholder of the County of Essex, and three famous divines, Thomas Hooker, Samuel Stone, and John Cotton. These were men of eminent capacity and sterling character, fit to be concerned in the building of a State.

Hooker and Stone went to Newtown, and were chosen, the former to be Pastor, the latter to be Teacher, of a church established there. Cotton, much coveted by other plantations, became associated with Wilson as Teacher of the Boston church. The new ministers were severally inducted to their offices with solemnities similar to those first used at Salem.

Cotton, the son of a barrister in easy circumstances, had been educated at Trinity College, and

had afterwards been a Fellow and Tutor of Emmanuel College, in the University of Cambridge, at which he acquired a distinguished reputation for ability and learning. For nearly twenty years before Winthrop's emigration to America, Cotton had been rector of St. Botolph's Church, at Boston, in Lincolnshire, where his professional labors were of astonishing amount, and the sanctity and mingled force and amiableness of his character won for him a vast influence. At the departure of Winthrop's company, he made a journey to take leave of them at Southampton. The Lord Keeper, Williams, his diocesan, was his personal friend, and desired to deal gently with him for non-conforming practices with which he was truly charged. But the stern vigilance of the new Archbishop was not to be eluded. The dogs of the High Commission Court were set upon Cotton, and with difficulty he escaped to London, where for a time he was concealed by John Davenport, then vicar of St. Stephen's, and by other friends. His design to get out of the kingdom was known or suspected, and pursuivants were sent to arrest him and Hooker at the Isle of Wight, where it was supposed they would embark. But they went on board in the Downs, and, avoiding discovery, arrived at their destination.

The example of men of such note as had recently come over, and the desire of being associated with them, had a favorable effect on further emigration. The renewal of the movement at-

tracted the attention of the English court, and secured a more favorable hearing for the representations of disaffected persons, if indeed we are not rather to suppose that the injurious representations were invited and rewarded by the government at home. The spirit of the court had now reached its height of arrogance and passion. It was at this time that *ship-money* was first levied, and the Star Chamber was rioting in the barbarities which were soon to bring an awful retribution. The precedent by which, in disregard of the chartered privileges of the Virginia Company, the government of Virginia had been taken into the king's hands, was urged in relation to the Massachusetts Company. An order in Council was obtained, reciting that "the Board is given to understand of the frequent transportation of great numbers of his Majesty's subjects out of this kingdom to the plantation called *New England*, amongst whom divers persons known to be ill-affected, discontented not only with civil but ecclesiastical government here, are observed to resort thither, whereby such confusion and distraction is already grown there, especially in point of religion, as, beside the ruin of the said plantation, cannot but highly tend to the scandal both of Church and State here." Thereupon it commanded the detention of "divers ships now in the river of Thames, ready to sail thither, freighted with passengers and provisions in each ship," and the production before the board, by Mr. Cradock, of the charter

1634. Feb. 21.

of the Massachusetts Company. Cradock's reply, that the charter had gone to America, perhaps first apprised the government of that important fact.

Intelligence of the threatening state of affairs in England had not reached the colony, when a transaction took place of the utmost importance in relation to its internal order. It now contained three or four thousand inhabitants, distributed in sixteen towns. The settlements had so extended, that the most distant, Ipswich, was thirty miles from the capital, and it was not convenient or safe for the freemen all to travel to Boston at the same time. Everything tended to a change in the organization of the government; and the considerations which manifested its necessity at the same time dictated its form. The freemen, by some previous concert, the method of which is not recorded, determined to do by representation a part of the office which belonged to them in the management of the corporate business; and, at the fifth General Court held in Massachusetts, twenty-four persons appeared, delegated by eight towns, "to meet and consider of such matters as they [the freemen] were to take order in at the same General Court." This great step was an easy extension of the proceeding of the Court of the second year before, when deputies had been sent from the towns with a power limited to the assessment of taxes. May 14.

The delegates of the eight towns "desired a sight of the patent," and concluded its sense to be

"that all their laws should be made at the General Court," — a great abridgment of the power of the Assistants, as hitherto it had been exercised. Proceeding on this interpretation of the charter, the Court carried out in a business-like manner an administrative reform, which had evidently been well considered beforehand. They resolved "that none but the General Court had power to . . . . . make and establish laws; or to elect and appoint," remove, or determine the duties and powers of, civil or military officers; or "to raise moneys and taxes, and to dispose of lands." Some recent orders of the Assistants were rescinded, and for one order the Assistants were punished by a fine. Their judicial power was restricted by a rule "that no trial should pass upon any for life or banishment, but by a jury summoned, or by the General Court." The charter had provided for four General Courts in a year. Since the first summer of its administration in New England, only one in each year had been convened, the annual spring Court of Elections. It was now "ordered, that there shall be four General Courts held yearly, to be summoned by the Governor for the time being, and not to be dissolved without the consent of the major part of the Court." And finally, to give permanence to the representative power of the Commons, it was enacted, "that it shall be lawful for the freemen of every plantation to choose two or three of each town before every General Court, to confer of ano

prepare such public business as by them shall be thought fit to consider of at the next General Court; and that such persons as shall be hereafter so deputed by the freemen of the several plantations to deal in their behalf in the public affairs of the Commonwealth, shall have the full power and voices of all the said freemen, derived to them for the making and establishing of laws, granting of lands, &c., and to deal in all other affairs of the Commonwealth wherein the freemen have to do, the matter of election of Magistrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freeman is to give his own voice."

Thus, after an administration of four years under the charter, the freemen took a share in the government out of the hands of the oligarchy of Magistrates into their own. The new policy was not unnaturally inaugurated by the deposition of the highest representative of the policy which was abandoned. Dudley was chosen Governor instead of Winthrop; Ludlow was made Deputy-Governor, and Winthrop took Ludlow's place as an Assistant. A change of rulers was recommended by other considerations. Some personal disaffection towards Winthrop had grown up. The "old planters" might naturally be jealous of him. In the transactions at Watertown, he might be thought to have assumed an overbearing tone. He had had differences with Dudley, and with Coddington, now chosen Treasurer. He must have offended not a few persons in his four years' exercise of high, but

ill-defined powers. Cotton had made a mistake in endeavoring to support him. Lately arrived as he was, Cotton laid down the doctrine, in his election sermon before the General Court, that "a Magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause, and to be publicly convict, no more than the Magistrates may not turn a private man out of his freehold without like public trial." The freemen quietly expressed their judgment of the theory of public office being of the nature of a freehold, by abstaining for four years from a reëlection of any person to be Governor at the end of his official term.

There were not wanting to Winthrop the mortifications with which the popular mood is apt to pursue superseded favorites. Soon after he ceased to be Governor, "the inhabitants of Boston met to choose seven men who should divide the town lands among them;" and Winthrop was elected only "by a voice or two," with "one of the elders and a deacon, and the rest of the inferior sort." Another transaction touched him more nearly. The General Court, apparently with a design of annoyance, appointed a committee "to receive his account of such things as he had received and disbursed for public use." The result was triumphant for him. It showed that his disbursements for the public had exceeded his receipts by more than a thousand pounds. "It repenteth me not," said the sublime man, "of my cost or labor bestowed in the service of this commonwealth, but do heartily

bless the Lord our God, that he hath pleased to honor me so far as to call for anything he hath bestowed upon me for the service of his church and people here, the prosperity whereof, and his gracious acceptance, shall be an abundant recompense to me."

For half a century, down to the abrogation of the charter of Massachusetts, the only changes in the arrangements respecting the legislature now constituted, were its division into two branches sitting apart, with a negative each upon the other, and the practice of two annual sessions instead of four. As Magistrates were chosen by joint vote of the freemen of the colony in their General Court, so Deputies were elected by the freemen of the towns which they respectively represented.

We turn back to the primitive colony of Plymouth, overshadowed, as it had now been, by the more important settlement of the Massachusetts Company. At the time when Winthrop and his associates came over, Plymouth had a population of about three hundred persons. A year earlier, thirty-five members of the Leyden church had joined their friends, accomplishing a long-deferred hope of both parties. The poor people of Plymouth, just involved in new pecuniary obligations to an oppressive amount, were but too happy, not only to defray all the expenses of the new-comers, but to give them dwellings, and supply them with food for more than a year, till there was time for them to make

1629. August.

provision for themselves. Another party came over with Winthrop's fleet. The two cost their American friends five hundred and fifty pounds sterling for their outfit and transportation from Holland, in addition to the expense of their reception and of their support till the second following harvest. The consequence of this generosity was eminently beneficial. In proportion as members of the Leyden congregation became numerous at Plymouth, the better party there — the party of Bradford, Brewster, and their compeers — was strengthened, and the colony was made to conform more to its original design.

Mr. Smith was the minister of the settlement, succeeding in that place to Rogers, who had been brought from England by Mr. Allerton, but who proved to be "crazed in his brain, so they were fain to be at further charge to send him back again the next year." Arriving at Salem in company with Higginson and Skelton, Smith had gone at first to the fishing-station at Nantasket, and there was found by the Plymouth people, who, for want of better, took him home with them, and set him in the place which the revered Robinson should have filled.

1628.

1629.

The perseverance of Allerton obtained from the Council for New England a patent for Plymouth more suitable to the existing condition of that colony than that which had been issued nine years before to John Pierce and his associates. The new patent conveyed to William Brad

1630. Jan. 13.

ford, his heirs, associates, and assigns, a tract of land including Plymouth, and another on the Kennebec, both of which, however, for want of geographical knowledge, were imperfectly defined; and it invested the associates, in respect to the granted territory, with all the power which the Council, by its charter, was made capable of conveying to its assigns. Under this instrument the Colony of Plymouth was managed, down to the end of its separate history. A royal charter, with the same privileges as were conferred on the Massachusetts Company, was much desired, but though often solicited, and sometimes at considerable cost, could never be obtained.

For four or five years from this time, the business relations between the partners at Plymouth and those at London became more and more complicated and unsatisfactory. Allerton, who passed between them as agent for the Plymouth associates, fell under the serious displeasure of his employers for transactions implicating them without their authority, as well as for other alleged misconduct, and was continued in his trust only through tenderness for Brewster, whose daughter was Allerton's wife. In two years he had raised their debt from four hundred pounds to four thousand. Still, under the honest and wise conduct of Bradford and his associates, affairs prospered on the small scale that belonged to them. "Though the partners," writes Bradford, "were plunged into great engagements, and oppressed with unjust debts, yet

the Lord prospered their trading, that they made yearly large returns. . . . . Also, the people of the plantation began to grow in their outward estates, by reason of the flowing of many people into the country, especially into the Bay of the Massachusetts, by which means corn and cattle grew to a great price, by which many were much enriched, and commodities grew plentiful."

As property and a sense of security increased, the people of Plymouth showed a disposition to disperse, for the convenience of more pasturage and other accommodations. A separate church and town, with the name of *Duxbury*, were established on the north side of the harbor, and grazing lands were assigned at *Marshfield* to persons who engaged to keep them by servants, and not remove themselves from the original settlement.

1632.

Enterprises at a distance from their home in opposite directions, involved the Plymouth people in some troublesome disputes. The colonial partners, in connection with four of their London friends, had reluctantly consented to establish a trading-house on the Penobscot, under the charge of one Edward Ashley, with whom Allerton had treated for that purpose in London. When *Acadia* was ceded to France by the treaty of St. Germain, the extent of the territory denoted by that name was left undefined. Claiming Ashley's post as within the domain of their sovereign, a party of French came and rifled it, carrying off

March 29.

property valued at more than five hundred pounds sterling.

The other eastern trading-house of Plymouth, on the Kennebec, gave occasion to a conflict of a different nature. The Plymouth people understood that their patent right to territory on this river gave them the monopoly of the Indian traffic there. A person named Hocking, in command of a vessel from the Piscataqua belonging to Lord Say and Sele, insisted on going up the river to trade. Howland, the Plymouth commander, after unavailing remonstrance, ordered his men 1634. to cut the cable of the ship's anchor. Hocking shot one of them, and was himself shot dead in return. The General Court of Massachusetts thought proper to interfere. Alden, one of the party, and a principal person of Plymouth, coming presently after to Boston for a visit, May 14. was detained to answer for what had been done; and the Massachusetts Magistrates were scarcely induced to desist from a prosecution of it by explanations which Standish first, and afterwards Bradford, Winslow, and Smith, the minister, were sent to make in person. Winslow soon after went a third time to England, partly on the errand of pacifying Lord Say and Sele.

The attention of the Plymouth people had been turned to a different quarter by what from time to time they had heard, from native and Dutch visitors, of a river to the west of them, called the *Fresh* River, and the *Connecticut* River, "a fine place

both for plantation and trade." They had further heard of the visit made to Winthrop, the first spring after his landing, by an Indian chief, who had offered him a settlement on the Connecticut, with a yearly present of corn and beaver. Winslow and Bradford went to Boston, to see whether a partnership could be arranged on this basis between individuals of the two colonies. This scheme coming to nothing, the Plymouth people, on their own account, despatched a vessel to the Connecticut with the frame of a house, and workmen and materials for its construction. Having sailed fifty miles up the river, to the place where now stands Hartford, they were challenged by a party of Dutch, who had thrown up a rude work, and mounted two small cannon. When nothing worse than some altercation had ensued, the English passed on, and landing above, at what is now the town of Windsor, put up, fortified, and provisioned their house, in which a portion of their number remained. A company of Dutch who in the following year came from New Amsterdam to expel the intruders, having made their observations on the spirit and the disposition of the little garrison, were prevailed on to retire without violence; and the English and Dutch outposts continued to scowl harmlessly at one another.

1633. July 12.

October.

All that is extant of what can properly be called the legislation of the first twelve years of the colony of Plymouth suffices to cover in print only two

pages of a common octavo volume. That of the first five years consists of a single enactment, establishing the trial by jury. In the tenth year, after many misgivings as to their power, the colonists inflicted capital punishment upon a murderer, John Billington, one of the company of the Mayflower. In the twelfth year a journal was begun, which, under the name of *Court Orders*, exhibits thenceforward the miscellaneous proceedings both of the General Courts, consisting of the body of freemen, and of the Courts of Magistrates, in the threefold character corresponding to their legislative, judicial, and executive functions.

1623. Dec 17.

1630. Sept.

1632.

After serving twelve years as Governor, Bradford was relieved from that office at his own urgent request, and was succeeded by Edward Winslow. At the end of his official year, Winslow, perhaps pleading his privilege of exemption accorded by a recent law, was in his turn succeeded by Thomas Prince, a passenger in the Fortune. At the time of Prince's accession, a colonial tax of fifty-eight pounds and seventeen shillings was assessed on seventy-seven men and four women. The tax-list of the next preceding year, the earliest which is extant, contains the names of eighty-six men and three women. When the *Court Orders* registry was begun, the freemen were sixty-eight in number.

1633.

1634.

1633.

CHAPTER X.

MASSACHUSETTS AND PROVIDENCE.

FOUR years had now passed since the great emigration, under Winthrop's conduct, to Massa-
1634. chusetts Bay. The worst hardships of a new plantation had been outlived. The infant society had been organized into coherence, symmetry, and a capacity of self-preservation and growth. The emigration had been recently renewed; and between three and four thousand Englishmen were distributed among twenty hamlets along and near the sea-shore.

They were settling into such employments as their situation dictated. They cultivated the ground, and took care of herds and flocks. They hunted and fished for a part of their food. They were building houses, boats, and mills; enclosing land with fences; and cutting roads through the forest to connect their towns. Their exports of cured fish, furs, and lumber bought them articles of convenience and luxury in England, and they were soon to build ships to be sold abroad. The customs of daily life were taking the new shapes impressed upon them by the strangeness of a condition so novel, and the course of public admin

istration was beginning to be made regular by precedents.

The freemen of the company were now about three hundred and fifty in number. More than two thirds of them had been admitted to the franchise since the establishment of the religious test, and a majority of the residue were also members of churches. As yet, all the Magistrates were persons who had first been appointed in England, with the exception of John Haynes, who had lately arrived, and John Winthrop the younger, the Governor's son. Not a few others of the freemen, from both position and character, had good pretensions to be admitted to the body charged with the executive and judicial administration ; but, though the charter authorized the choice of twenty Magistrates, for several years only about half as many were elected, the vacancies being kept for the men of rank who were expected to come over.

The clergy, now thirteen or fourteen in number, constituted in some sort a separate estate of special dignity. Though they were excluded from secular office, the relation of their functions to the spirit and aim of the community which had been founded, as well as their personal weight of ability and character, gave great authority to their advice. Nearly all were graduates of Oxford or of Cambridge, and had held livings in the Established Church of England. Several had been eminent among their fellows for all professional endowments.

The difficulties of the enterprise were by no

means yet over. The freedom which the colonists had attained by heroic sacrifice they had now to secure by practical wisdom. Its permanence was exposed to two dangers. It was threatened by the hostility of the English government, and by dissensions in the new community. And in circumstances likely to occur, each of these dangers would increase the other.

Of the reality and nearness of the danger of annoyance from the home government the colonists had had warning in the recent complaints against them to the Privy Council. For protection against it they were to look to their charter, as long as the grants in that instrument should continue to be respected. Their charter was their palladium. To lose it would be ruin. Whatever might imperil it required to be watched with the most jealous caution.

Against internal dissensions they had an easy remedy. The freemen had a right, in equity and in law, to expel from their territory all persons who should give them trouble. In their corporate capacity, they were owners of Massachusetts in fee, by a title to all intents as good as that by which any freeholder among them had held his English farm. As against all Europeans, whether English or Continental, they owned it by a grant from the crown of England, to which, by a well-settled principle, the disposal of it belonged, in consequence of its discovery by an English subject. In respect to any adverse claim on the part of the natives, they

had either found the land unoccupied, or had become possessed of it with the consent of its earlier proprietors. And the privilege of determining who should occupy it along with them they regarded as being further assured to them by the letter of English law; for the royal charter under which they held gave them express power to "expulse all such person and persons as should at any time attempt or enterprise detriment or annoyance to their plantation or its inhabitants." Accordingly, while the associate who could sympathize with them, and join his hand with theirs in building up the new institutions in Church and State, was welcome, whoever had views and objects so different from theirs that his presence among them would be an occasion of weakness or of strife, had, in their judgment, no claim to fasten himself upon them.

However distasteful to the Magistrates the action of the fifth General Court had for the moment been, they found reason to rejoice in it before the next four years were passed. A suspended question of power between them and the freemen, with its attendant disputes and jealousies, would have disabled both parties for the action which events were about to require; and the extension of the responsibility of government to a considerable number of persons, with a great interest in common, and capacity to understand it, proved to be an opportune element of strength. The Court had scarcely been dissolved, when tidings came from England of a nature to impress the July

minds of the rulers in Massachusetts, more seriously than ever before, with a sense of the magnitude of the task they had undertaken.

The jealousy of the royal government, carried on for the last five years without a Parliament, and growing every day more despotic in Church and State, had been revealed in the order of the Privy Council to detain ten vessels about to sail from London with passengers for New England. The attempts against the charter, baffled a year before, were renewed, and an order had been obtained from the Lords of the Council for its production at their board. The alarm in Massachusetts reached its height when intelligence came of a design to send out a General Governor, and of the creation of a special commission, with Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, at its head, for the management of all the colonies and for the revocation of their charters. Mr. Cradock transmitted a copy of the Order of Council requiring the production of the patent. For the present, the Magistrates simply replied, that they had no power to do anything of the kind without the direction of the General Court, which would not meet for two months. They sent letters, "to mediate their peace," by Mr. Winslow, on whose personal agency it may be presumed that they also placed reliance.

There is no matter of surprise in the vigorous assault now made upon the charter of Massachusetts by the counsellors of King Charles. The difficult questions are, how such a charter came to

be originally granted, and why, when assailed only a year before the present hostile movements, it had been treated with so much favor. Considering the character of the King on the one hand, and the provisions of the charter on the other, it seems necessary to conclude, either that its tenor was not well known to him when it received his assent, or else that his purpose in granting it was to encourage the departure of Puritans from England, at the time when he was entering upon measures which might bring on a dangerous conflict with that party. The former supposition is scarcely to be reconciled with what appears to be a well-authenticated fact, that the charter was procured through the intervention of that vigilant courtier and sensitive churchman, Lord Dorchester. The latter supposition derives some plausibility from the tortuous policy of the King, a policy to which his experienced diplomatist was in no wise averse.

The charter of the Massachusetts Company had passed the seals almost simultaneously with the King's annunciation, after an exciting controversy with three Parliaments, of his purpose to govern without Parliaments in future. It might well appear to him, that, in the contests which perhaps were to follow, his task would be made easier, if numbers of the patriots could be tempted to absent themselves from the kingdom; and when he should have succeeded, and the laws and liberties of England should be stricken down, there would be nothing in his past grants to embarrass him in his

treatment of the exiles, and his arm would be long enough to reach and strong enough to crush them in their distant hiding-place. Or if no scheme so definite as this was entertained, the grant of the charter, inviting attention to a distant object, might do something for his present relief, by breaking up the dangerous concentration of the thoughts of the Puritans on the state of affairs at home.

Whatever was the King's design in granting the charter, nothing occurred to change his course of action in respect to it for the next four years. Within that time there had been only one large emigration; and, if he heard anything of the colony, he must have heard that it seemed languishing. There was, therefore, no motive to lay a heavy hand on it; and accordingly the complaint of Mason and others, at the end of the fourth year, was carelessly dismissed. In the fifth year, things took a different turn. Eight or nine hundred Englishmen went to Massachusetts, some of them important men. The colony had got through its first difficulties, and was vigorous. If the King and his archbishop had heard of all that it had been doing, they knew that its progress could not be stopped too soon for their advantage. On the other hand, Charles seemed to have surmounted the first difficulties of his career as an absolute monarch. More than five years had passed of government without a Parliament, and England was not in arms. Subservient courts of justice, and the parasites abou his person, may well have persuaded him that

England was at his feet. He had just come from his coronation in Scotland, elated with his loyal reception in the dominion of his fathers. The Star Chamber was in unopposed activity. Laud had just been made the first clergyman, peer, and counsellor of the realm; and Laud, at the ear of his sovereign, was not a man to forget the claims of the Church, or to postpone the harsh exercise of power. We may find it hard to satisfy ourselves of the reason for granting the charter of Massachusetts Bay; but as to the causes of the early proceedings for its destruction there is no perplexity.

The General Court of Magistrates and Deputies came together, and on their table lay a copy of the instrument which gave power to eleven courtiers to ruin them and theirs. The Commissioners were found to be the two archbishops, six lay peers, and three other high functionaries. They, or any five of them, were invested with "power of protection and government" over all English colonies. They had authority "to make laws, orders, and constitutions;" to provide for the maintenance of a clergy "by tithes, oblations, and other profits;" 'to inflict punishment, ... either by imprisonment or other restraints, or by loss of life or members;" to remove and appoint governors and other officers; to establish ecclesiastical courts; to hear and determine complaints, "either against the whole colonies, ... or any private member thereof," and for that purpose "to summon

the persons before them;" and finally, to call in all letters-patent, and, if any were found to convey privileges hurtful to the "crown or prerogative royal," to cause them to be legally revoked.

Since the tidings came from England of the alarming measures in train, the members of the Court had had time for conference with their neighbors, and were probably well agreed as to what business they should transact. A determined spirit does not closely calculate resources. It easily believes that the way will appear, when the will is constant. The first orders adopted were for the erection of fortifications on Castle Island in Boston harbor, and at Charlestown and Dorchester. Next the captains were authorized "to train unskilful men so often as they pleased, provided they exceeded not three days in a week." Dudley, Winthrop, Haynes, Humphrey, and Endicott were appointed "to consult, direct, and give command for the managing and ordering of any war that might befall for the space of a year next ensuing, and till further order should be taken therein." Arrangements were made for the collection and custody of arms and ammunition.

Sept. 8.

During the winter no new alarm came from abroad. The ministers were invited by the Governor and Assistants to a consultation at Boston on the existing state of affairs. All came but one, Mr. Ward, who was lately arrived; and the unanimous advice of those present was: "If a General Governor were sent, we ought

1635. Jan. 19.

not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions, if we were able; otherwise to avoid or protract." It might prove that the King of England was able to coerce these people by force; to coerce them by intimidation was beyond his power.

The great subject of anxiety presented itself again at the next General Court. An order was passed, "that the fort at Castle Island, now begun, shall be fully perfected, the ordnances mounted, and every other thing about it finished;" and the Deputy-Governor, who had it in charge, was empowered "to press men for that work." Another vote directed, "that there should be forthwith a beacon set on the sentry hill at Boston, to give notice to the country of any danger, ... and that, upon the discovery of any danger, the beacon should be fired." To secure a supply of musket-balls, they were made a legal tender for payments, at the rate of a farthing apiece, instead of the coin, the circulation of which was forbidden. Further rules were made for the enforcement of a strict military discipline; and the "Freeman's Oath" of fidelity to the local government was required to be taken by every man "resident within the jurisdiction," and being "of or above the age of sixteen years." Finally a military commission was established with extraordinary powers. The Magistrates and Mr. Bellingham were the commissioners. They were authorized "to dispose of all military affairs whatsoever;" "to ordain and remove all military officers;" "to do whatsoever

March 4.

might be behooveful for the good of the plantation, in case of any war that might befall;" "to imprison or confine any that they should judge to be enemies to the Commonwealth; and such as could not come under command or restraint, as they should be required, it should be lawful for the commissioners to put such persons to death."

The demand from England for a transmission of the charter had received no other notice from the General Court than what these proceedings imply. The government of Charles the First was pressed with too much business to follow up a policy of consistent rigor against the contumacious colony. But another business of the worst omen was at the same time in train. The Council for New England, having struggled through nearly fifteen years of maladministration and ill luck, had yielded to the discouragements which beset it. By the royal favor, it had triumphed over the rival Virginia Company, to be overwhelmed in its turn by the just jealousy of Parliament, and by dissensions among its members. The Council, having by profuse and inconsistent grants of its lands exhausted its common property, as well as its credit with purchasers for keeping its engagements, had no motive to continue its organization. Under these circumstances, it determined on a resignation of its charter to the King, and a surrender of the administration of its domain to a General Governor of his appointment, on the condition that all the territory, a large portion of which by

its corporate action had already been alienated to other parties, should be granted in severalty by the King to the members of the Council. Twelve associates accordingly proceeded to a distribution of New England among themselves by lot; and nothing was wanting to render the transaction complete, and to transfer to them the ownership of that region, except to oust the previous patentees, of whom the most powerful body were the colonists in Massachusetts Bay.

To effect this, Sir John Banks, Attorney-General, brought a writ of *quo warranto* in Westminster Hall against the Massachusetts Company. 1636. Sept. Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, and twelve others of the original associates, "came in and pleaded that" they "had never usurped any the said liberties, privileges, and franchises in the information, nor did use or claim any of the same;" and judgment was given that they "should not for the future intermeddle with any the liberties, privileges, or franchises aforesaid, but should be forever excluded from all use and claim of the same and every of them." Cradock, the former Governor, made default; and, in his case, "judgment was given that he should be convicted of the usurpation charged in the information, and that the said liberties, privileges, and franchises should be taken and seized into the King's hands, the said Matthew not to intermeddle with and be excluded the use thereof, and the said Matthew to be taken to answer to the King for the said usurpation."

Of the eleven remaining original patentees, Humphrey, Endicott, Nowell, Bellingham, Pynchon, and William Vassall were then in New England, and Johnson had died there.

It seemed that when a few more forms should be gone through, all would be over with the presumptuous colony. In the view of English law, the Englishmen who had gone to Massachusetts had no rights and no property there. Divided into provinces, Massachusetts belonged to Gorges, Mason, the Marquis of Hamilton, and whoever else had won by lot any of its dismembered parts. In the regular course of proceeding, nothing remained but for the local government voluntarily to abdicate, and for the people to abandon their homes, or else for the King to send out his Governor, backed by a sufficient force, and turn over the land to its new masters. But neither of these things took place. In Massachusetts, the whole proceeding was a nullity. Everything went on as if Westminster Hall had not spoken. "The Lord frustrated their design."

The disorders of the mother country were a safeguard of the infant liberty of New England. Laud was busy with his more important plan of *prelatizing* the Church of Scotland. England was in a rage on the question of ship-money. An unsuccessful attempt to launch a vessel intended to bring over the General Governor, and the decease at this juncture of John Mason, were regarded by Winthrop as eminent interpositions of God in behalf

of his chosen people. The death of the able and energetic Mason was, at all events, a great relief to the leaders of affairs in Massachusetts. As a principal member, and Secretary, of the Council for New England, and as holder of patents with which the Massachusetts charter interfered, he had been indefatigable in his endeavors for the annulling of that instrument. Disaffected persons, returning from the colony, had steadily resorted to him as the standing agent of their revenge; and, with whatever influence he could exert, he had promoted the schemes for a Commission for the Plantations and a General Governor. Though the more generous Gorges lived to render good service to his master in the great civil war, he was already growing old, and was dispirited by the thirty years' ill success of projects which had wasted his fortune and involved him in infinite discomfort. It was perhaps owing not a little to the decay of his former activity that the proceedings under the *quo warranto* against the Massachusetts Company proved fruitless.

While the events which have been now related wore their most alarming phase, domestic embarrassments added to the terrors of foreign encroachment. In the midst of a crisis calling for all the energy and wisdom of the colonists to avert the ruin that seemed to impend, a character prominent in New England history interposed by a course of action which complicated the existing difficulties.

Roger Williams, after some residence at the

University of Oxford, perhaps under the patronage of Sir Edward Coke, is believed to have been admitted to orders in the Established Church. He had subsequently separated himself from that communion, and, sympathizing with the hopes of other Non-conformists, had arrived at Boston the next year after the transportation of the charter, being then probably in the twenty-fifth year of his age. A reputation for talents and piety had preceded him; and a few weeks only passed before the church at Salem invited him to succeed Higginson as their Teacher. He had made the most of his short time in becoming obnoxious to the government; and "a letter was written from the Court to Mr. Endicott to this effect, that, whereas Mr. Williams had refused to join with the congregation at Boston because they would not make public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they lived there, and besides had declared his opinion that the magistrate might not punish the breach of the Sabbath, nor any other offence as it was a breach of the first table, therefore they marvelled they would choose him without advising with the Council, and withal desiring them that they would forbear to proceed till they had conferred about it."

1631. Feb. 5.

April 12.

The Salem church, however, proceeded, and Williams had already become their Teacher when the remonstrance reached them. Precisely how long he remained in this place is not known; but some

time in the same, or perhaps in the following year, he withdrew to the more benignant atmosphere of Plymouth Colony, and became assistant to the Pastor of the church there, the Separatist, Mr. Smith. The affection of his Salem flock followed him, and he was persuaded to retrace his steps, and resume a home among them. He returned to Salem with more confidence in himself, from the position which he had occupied while absent, and the popularity which invited him back.

It was in the year of his reappearance there that the courage and policy of the colonists became their only protection under God against that wrong-headed and bad-hearted churchman who presided over the commission intrusted with their ruin. Only a few months had passed since the petition of Gorges and Mason to the King's Privy Council had been dismissed, through what the colonists esteemed to be little short of a miraculous interposition of Providence. And late in the same year an answer to the charges which had been produced in England was still under debate among the Magistrates.

Such being some of the circumstances in which the Magistrates of Massachusetts had their renewed experience of Williams, it occasions no surprise that they interfered again with their advice when it was proposed to appoint him to the place lately vacated by the death of Mr. Skelton. But the Salem church persisted, and formally installed him as their Teacher. He was now a

1634.

power in the State, and nobody could be better disposed to make himself felt as such. The Magistrates charged him with "teaching publicly against the King's patent," and against the sin of "claiming right thereby to this country, &c.," and with maintaining "that a magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate person," — a doctrine which, besides the embarrassment it offered to the common administration of justice, had special significance at a time when it had been thought necessary to impose the "Freeman's Oath" and the "Resident's Oath" in order to secure allegiance to the colony, even in opposition, should that prove needful, to the King.

Nov. 1635. April.

Presently the annual Court of Elections met, and Mr. Haynes was chosen Governor, with Mr. Bellingham, lately arrived, for Deputy Governor. The General Court took up the dispute with Williams and his church, and gave them the time which would intervene before the next Court to exculpate themselves, at the same time, on account of the contumacy of Salem, rejecting a petition from that town for a grant of land. Williams struck back. He caused his church to "write to other churches, to admonish the Magistrates of this as a heinous sin, and likewise the Deputies." When less attention than he desired was given to this missive, Williams addressed himself to his own church, exhorting them to renounce all communion with the other churches of the colony.

July 8.

The next General Court unseated the Deputies from Salem, till their constituents should apologize for having "exceedingly reproached and vilified the Magistrates and churches," which was presently done. Next they considered the case of Williams, and, finding that he had "broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of magistrates, as also writ letters of defamation both of the Magistrates and churches," they proceeded to deal with him, as numerous disturbers, the Brownes, Gardiner, Stone, Walford, Gray, Lynn, Smith, and others, had been dealt with before. They ordered that he should "depart out of the jurisdiction within six weeks," and that, if he did not go of himself, the Governor and two of the Magistrates might send him. Still he lingered at Salem, and the Magistrates did not disturb him, till they learned that he was busy rekindling the troublesome excitement. Then they sent Captain Underhill from Boston to put him on board a vessel about to sail for England. Three days before that officer reached Salem, Williams left his family there, and took to the woods.

Sept. 2.

Sept. 3.

1636. Jan.

Forty years after his departure from Salem, Williams related that he was "sorely tossed for fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean." He appears to have passed the winter among the Pokanoket Indians, with whom he had become acquainted during his residence at Plymouth. Governor Win-

throp, he says, had advised him "to steer his course to the Nahigonsett Bay and Indians." Proceeding in that direction, he stopped at Seekonk, 1636. where, being joined in the spring by a few friends from Salem, he "first pitched, and began to build and plant." A letter from Governor Winslow, however, who told him that he was occupying land that belonged to Plymouth, induced him to change his plan. Embarking, with five companions, on the Seekonk River, in search of June. another home, he landed on the high point which divides that stream from the uppermost inlet of Narragansett Bay, and by a spring of water laid the foundation of what is now the beautiful city of Providence. From the Narragansett chiefs, Canonicus and Miantonomo, he obtained leave to occupy the lands "lying upon the two fresh rivers, Mooshausick and Wanasquatucket." The bargain, with its avails, was his own; he fulfilled it with money borrowed on a mortgage of his property in Salem; but he freely gave lands to all comers.

The government first established was in the simplest form of a democracy For four years a town treasurer was the only officer. "We do promise" — such was the compact of the associates — "to subject ourselves, in active and passive obedience, to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a township, and such others *whom they shall*

admit into the same, only in civil things." Thus it was already seen to be necessary to recognize in the social constitution the same right as to the selection of associates which had been exercised in the expulsion of the leader by the Massachusetts people. But further experience was required to refute some more exalted theories, which a generous enthusiasm had too confidently embraced.

Scarcely any records of the settlement at Providence for the first ten years are extant. Such as were made are believed to have been mostly destroyed when the Indians set fire to the town in Philip's War. Among the fragments which remain, two, besides what have been already referred to, are of principal importance. One is a grant, to thirteen associates, of "the meadow ground at Pawtuxet," lying west of the original settlement, on the other side of the bay; a proceeding which was followed by important consequences, to be explained hereafter. The other exhibits the "Form of Government," devised by four "arbitrators" chosen for the purpose, and subscribed by thirty-nine freemen as the rule of their association. It contains scarcely anything except a provision for the adjustment of disputes, through a permanent board of "five disposers," to be chosen by the inhabitants, and the subsidiary arrangements suitable for carrying this plan into effect. In his new home Williams's own restless career took new directions. He became dissatisfied with his baptism, and was

1676.

1638. Oct. 8.

1640. July 27.

1639. March

baptized anew. In a few months he distrusted the last administration of that ordinance, and waited for a new apostolic commission to give it validity. "After that, he set himself upon a way of *seeking* (with two or three of those that had dissented with him) by way of preaching and praying; and these he continued a year or two, till two of the three left him." Throughout his long life he continued to present a rare specimen of *individualism*. But the vital spirit of religion never deserted him.

CHAPTER XI.

MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT.

The change of rulers in Massachusetts when Winthrop was superseded as Governor had consisted merely in the promotion of two of his associates in the magistracy, while he was still their colleague as an Assistant. The government continued to be conducted according to the same principles and by the same methods as during the four years of his wise and upright administration of the chief office. While the recent intelligence from England gave great uneasiness, the means and the confidence of the colonists were increased by the arrival of large numbers of their friends.

During the year of Dudley's service as Governor, Endicott, instigated, as was said, by Roger Williams, caused the red cross of England to be obliterated from the colors of the train-bands under his command. "Much matter was made of this," writes Winthrop, "as fearing it would be taken as an act of rebellion, or of like high nature; though the truth were, it was done upon this opinion, that the red cross was given to the King of England by the Pope as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing, and a relict of Antichrist. The Magistrates were uneasy. 1634.

Scruples of their own, as well as of their constituents, forbade them to condemn the act, yet they could not fail to see how much trouble it might give them at court. They informed their friend, Mr. Downing, in England, of their "dislike of the thing, and purpose to punish the offenders," in order that, "if occasion were, he might show it in their excuse;" but "they expressed themselves with as much wariness as they might, being doubtful of the lawful use of the cross in an ensign." The question was too perplexing to be immediately disposed of. "Because the Court could not agree about the thing, whether the ensigns should be laid by, in regard that many refused to follow them, the whole cause was deferred till the next General Court, and the commissioners for military affairs gave orders in the mean time that all the ensigns should be laid aside."

1635. March 4.

The freemen did not forget Cotton's lesson concerning the right of permanence in office. They allowed Dudley to serve them only one year as Governor. John Haynes, who succeeded him, was from the county of Essex in England, where he possessed a large property. He had lately come over, in company with John Cotton. Richard Bellingham, who was made Deputy-Governor, had arrived still more recently. He had been educated a lawyer, had filled the office of Recorder in the English Boston, and was one of the twenty-six freemen named in the charter, which he was thought to have had a hand in framing

May 6.

The other Magistrates were the same as in the preceding year, except that Atherton Hough, who had come over with Haynes, and Richard Dummer, who had been at Roxbury three years, were chosen Assistants, while Endicott and Ludlow were dismissed to private life, the former on account of his rash proceeding in relation to the flag, the latter because of his having passionately resented the promotion of Haynes over him.

Endicott was punished for his indiscretion by being "disabled for one year from having any public office." But the main question that had arisen still remained to be disposed of. In the course of the year a measure was adopted that seemed to shift the responsibility from the Magistrates. "It was referred to the military committee to appoint colors for every company, who did accordingly, and left out the cross in all of them, appointing the King's arms to be put into that of Castle Island." There the royal colors would be seen by the shipping, and prevent a damaging report from being carried to England.

A tendency to well-defined and settled institutions was indicated by several measures adopted towards the close of Haynes's administration. The General Court empowered the Magistrates 1636. March 3. "from time to time to dispose of the sitting down of men in any new plantations," and forbade settlements to be made without their consent. The number of General Courts was reduced from four in each year to two. Local courts of justice were

instituted, each charged to hold four sessions in each year, the places being Boston, Newtown, Salem, and Ipswich. A rule was made for presentments by a grand jury to precede a prosecution. A definition of the powers of towns gave the first legislative authority to that municipal system of New England which, with such happy results, has survived to the present day. The freemen of the several towns were empowered "to dispose of their own lands and woods," to "choose their own particular officers," and to "make such orders as might concern the wellbeing of their own towns, not repugnant to the laws and orders of the General Court." And the right of representation in the central government was roughly apportioned to the towns, according to the amount of their population. Towns with fewer than ten freemen had no right to choose a Deputy; "those that had above ten and under twenty [freemen], not above one; betwixt twenty and forty, not above two; and those that had above forty, three if they would, but not above."

A scarcely less important proceeding of the time related to the formation of churches. As no person could become a freeman without being first a church-member, and as admission into a church was obtained by the consent of its officers and members, a question could not fail to present itself as to safeguards for political integrity at the source of political power. Nothing less, it seemed than a prohibition of the forming of any church

without the approbation of the whole community expressed through its rulers would suffice to secure an accordance between the sentiments of the church-member and freeman and the vital principles of the Commonwealth. Accordingly, a law was made providing that no church should be established without the approbation of the Magistrates and of the majority of existing churches, and that no member of any church irregularly formed without such authority, should "be admitted to the freedom of the Commonwealth."

In the autumn of the year in which Haynes was Governor, three persons of special note arrived in Massachusetts. John Winthrop the younger had been there before, having come over in the year after his father, when he was twenty-five or twenty-six years old. At the time of that visit he had remained more than two years, during which he established a plantation at Ipswich. 1635. Oct. 6. 1631. Nov. 2.

One of the companions of his present voyage was a person destined for a short time to exercise an important agency in the affairs of New England, and subsequently to act a part scarcely secondary to any on a much more conspicuous theatre. This was the young Henry Vane. His father, the representative of an ancient line, and himself experienced in high public employments in the present and the late reign, was at this period a Privy Counsellor and one of the Secretaries of State. The son, now twenty-three years old, "being a

young gentleman of excellent parts, had been employed by his father, when he was ambassador, in foreign affairs; yet, being called to the obedience of the gospel, forsook the honors and preferments of the court, to enjoy the ordinances of Christ in their purity here. His father being averse to this way, (as no way savoring the power of religion,) would hardly have consented to his coming hither, but that, acquainting the King with his son's disposition and desire, he commanded him to send him hither, and gave him license for three years' stay here."

The third personage in this distinguished *trio* was the minister, Hugh Peter. He had been educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and had subsequently been lecturer at St. Sepulchre's Church, in London, whence he had been driven, by the persecution under Laud, to Holland. After six years' service as pastor of a church in Rotterdam, he was induced, by annoyances from the English ambassador, to resolve to join the colony in Massachusetts, with which he was the better acquainted from having been a member of the company before leaving England, and a liberal contributor to its stock. He was soon inducted into the place lately vacated by Williams in the church at Salem. He was a man of great talents, and of restless and various activity. He saw at once the commercial capacities of the country, and set himself to work to develop them.

At the first election after Vane's arrival, he was

chosen Governor, with Winthrop for his Deputy. It is likely that the resentment of the freemen against Cotton's doctrine of a vested estate in the high offices were not yet exhausted. It may have been believed that Governor Haynes intended to leave Massachusetts. And the remarkable personal qualities of Vane, set off by his eminent social position, required no long time to make themselves felt. His accession was greeted with unusual pomp. "Because he was son and heir to a Privy Counsellor in England, the ships congratulated his election with a volley of great shot."

The King's mutilated flag flapped forthwith in the face of the son of the King's Privy Counsellor and Secretary of State. A seaman said, "that because we had not the King's colors at our fort, we were all traitors and rebels." The Magistrates caused him to be apprehended and put in gaol. He acknowledged his offence, made a submission, and was discharged. The Governor, reasonably thinking that this might not be the last of it, advised with the ship-masters then in port. They said that, as they should be questioned when they got home, it would be well for them to be able to report that they had seen the national ensign displayed at the Castle. And now a singular fact appeared. In an English colony six years old, that ensign was not to be found. "It was answered, that we had not the King's colors." The ship-masters offered to furnish them, and they were hoisted accordingly over the fort, but not till

1636. May 31.

after anxious consultation, and, as far as Winthrop and some other Magistrates were concerned, with only a dissatisfied and reluctant consent.

In palpable disregard of the charter, a new order of magistracy was instituted in this year of reforms. The last General Court that sat while Haynes was Governor resolved that the Court, at its meeting two months later, "and so from time to time, as occasion should require, should elect a certain number of Magistrates, for term of their lives, as a Standing Council, not to be removed but upon due conviction of crime, insufficiency, or for some other weighty cause." The proposed dignity was now conferred upon Winthrop and Dudley; upon Endicott in the following year; and never upon any other person. The plan was not pressed; it acquired no favor with the people, and came to nothing. It appears to have been at once a revival of Cotton's doctrine of perpetuity in office, and a concession to a proposal which had been made by Lord Say and Sele to introduce an aristocratical element into the government.

March 3.

May 31.

At the same time, a more plausible scheme was defeated as to present execution. "The people . . . . . thought their condition very unsafe, while so much power vested in the discretion of Magistrates;" and the General Court raised a committee "to make a draught of laws." At first sight this seems very wise on the part of the people. But Winthrop and his friends in the

March 25.

magistracy and ministry were wiser. A formal code, with provisions conformed in all respects to the convenience and wishes of the people, "would," he said, "professedly transgress the limits of our charter, which provides we shall make no laws repugnant to the laws of England; and that we are assured we must do; but to raise up laws by practice and custom had been no transgression; as, in our church discipline and in matters of marriage, to make a law that marriages should not be solemnized by ministers is repugnant to the laws of England; but to bring it a custom by practice for the Magistrate to perform it, is by no law made repugnant." Those Magistrates and ministers who did not favor the scheme of a code of statute laws knew how to interpose embarrassments and delays; and several years passed before the plan was carried into effect, though it was never lost sight of, and was repeatedly urged by the freemen.

In view of "the great danger and damage that might accrue to the State by all the freemen leaving their plantations to come to the place of elections," a General Court, convened by Vane towards the close of his term of office, made it "free and lawful for all freemen to send their votes for elections by proxy." By the same Court it was "ordered that all military men in the jurisdiction should be ranked into three regiments," according to a division which subsequently became the basis of counties. The regiments were respectively to elect their field officers, while company officers

were to be appointed by the Magistrates, from a list of persons nominated by the towns. The officers were all to be freemen; but, in the nomination for company officers, non-freemen might vote.

Simultaneously with the foundation of Providence by Roger Williams, a more important movement took place towards the region further to the west. In order to follow the course of this transaction, and observe its connection with its important incidents in Massachusetts, it is necessary first to retrace our steps.

The establishment of a factory by the Plymouth people on the *Fresh* River, or River Con-
1633. necticut, has been mentioned in a former chapter. That river had also been visited by a little vessel belonging to Governor Winthrop, and by the restless John Oldham, who, with three companions, went thither by land. Intelligence which continued to be brought of the beauty and fertility of the Connecticut valley led many to desire to transfer themselves to it from the less productive soil which they had occupied in Massachusetts. Especially the project was entertained by the inhabitants of Dorchester, Roxbury, Newtown, and Watertown It was favored at Roxbury by Pynchon, one of the Assistants, and at Dorchester by Ludlow, the principal lay citizen. But at the head of the enterprise in the shape which it finally took, were Hooker and Stone, ministers of Newtown, and their parishioner, John Haynes.

The reader has some acquaintance with the position of Haynes, at home and in the colony. Samuel Stone, educated, like so many of our founders, at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, had been a *lecturer* in Northamptonshire before his flight into America. Thomas Hooker, student and Fellow of the same college, had acquired a high reputation in the same employment at Chelmsford, in Essex. He had also taught a school, in which John Eliot, afterwards the famous missionary to the Indians, was his assistant. From the threats of the High Commission Court he escaped to Rotterdam, where he became Pastor of the congregation served by Dr. Ames as Teacher. The intention of some of his Essex friends having been made known to him, he returned to England, and, going on shipboard in disguise, joined them, a year after the arrival of their most numerous company, at Newtown, where he was presently established as their Pastor, Mr. Stone being associated with him as Teacher. 1633. Oct. 11.

Hooker and Stone and their friends did not like Newtown. They were pleased with what they heard of the country about the Connecticut. A year had not passed, when they avowed their wish to remove thither. There were those who imagined that a jealousy of Mr. Winthrop on the part of Mr. Haynes, and of Mr. Cotton on the part of Mr. Hooker, impelled those distinguished persons to seek a sphere where their influence would cease to be controlled, and their consequence to be eclipsed,

by rivals earlier possessed of the public confidence Of this there is no proof. But as the emigrants to Connecticut did not adopt in their own settlement that radical feature of the social system of Massachusetts which founded the civil franchise on church-membership, we may not unnaturally suppose that dissatisfaction with it, and apprehension of what might follow from it, were among their motives for seeking a new home. And it may have been, that, in the existing relations between Massachusetts and the mother country, Haynes and Hooker and their associates were disposed to seek whatever security might be afforded by a residence more remote; a motive which is known to have had a part in prompting the next later emigration towards the west.

The Magistrates did all in their power to hinder the enterprise. They said that it was forbidden by the obligations under which every settler in Massachusetts had come to contribute to the prosperity of that colony; that Massachusetts was "now weak and in danger to be assailed;" and that there was no necessity to go abroad for larger accommodation, for there was abundance of unoccupied land within her limits. In the General Court fifteen out of twenty-five Deputies gave their sanction to the undertaking, while of the Magistrates all but the Governor and two Assistants dissented.

The disagreement brought up an important question, not immediately to be put to rest, re-

specting the possession by the Magistrates of an effectual negative voice in the government. "Upon this grew a great difference," and "the whole Court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to seek the Lord, which accordingly was done in all the congregations." On that day Cotton addressed the General Court in what was thought a very weighty sermon. At all events, its effect was to allay the excitement. "Although all were not satisfied about the negative voice to be left to the Magistrates, yet no man moved aught about it; and the congregation of Newtown came and accepted of such enlargement as had formerly been offered them by Boston and Watertown, and so the fear of their removal to Connecticut was removed."

But the scheme was not abandoned. In the summer of the following year, a party from Dorchester travelled to the neighborhood of the spot where the Plymouth factory had been planted, and a few explorers from Watertown established themselves where Wethersfield at length grew up. A more important movement was made in the autumn, when a party of sixty persons, including women and children, set off, driving cattle before them, for the infant settlements. Another neighboring plantation, of independent origin, was begun at the same time. John Winthrop the younger, at his recent return to New England, had brought a commission from Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and other patentees of Connecticut, to look after their property.

1635.

Oct. 15.

He built a fort at the river's mouth, on the spot which four years afterwards took the name of *Saybrook* from the names of those two noblemen.

The Dorchester and Watertown people who undertook to winter on Connecticut River suffered extreme hardship. The vessels in which they had laden household supplies and furniture were detained by the freezing over of the river. The ground was early covered deep with snow. The loss of the Dorchester settlement alone, in cattle that died for want of shelter and provender, was estimated at two thousand pounds sterling. Seventy persons found their way back to Boston.

In the following year the people of Newtown carried out their long-meditated plan. They sold their houses and other immovable property to a company which had lately arrived under the leadership of Mr. Thomas Shepard; and, to the number of a hundred, of both sexes and all ages, they set out, early in summer, for their new home. Their herd of a hundred and fifty cattle, which grazed as they journeyed, supplied them with milk. Tents and wagons protected them from the rain, and sheltered their sleep. At a spot on the right bank of the Connecticut, just north of the Dutch stockade, they reached the end of their journey. It had occupied a fortnight, though the distance was scarcely a hundred miles.

1636. June.

The two groups of planters above and below this spot were reinforced in the course of the sum

mer by the emigration of the churches, to which they had respectively belonged, of Dorchester and Watertown. To the spots selected for their habitation, the emigrants gave, for the present, the names of the towns of Massachusetts from which they had come. Before the year expired, these names were superseded. Newtown was called *Hartford*, after the English birthplace of Mr. Stone; Watertown took the name of *Wethersfield*, and Dorchester that of *Windsor*. Mr. William Pynchon and seven other persons from Roxbury established themselves upon a beautiful site higher up the river, afterwards called *Springfield*.

1637. Feb. 21.

1636. May.

The local business of the several plantations was from the beginning transacted at town meetings. The general administration of the four towns for the first year was in the hands of eight Commissioners, who had been appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts "to govern the people of Connecticut for the space of a year." This arrangement had been only provisional, and of course it was found in practice to be inconvenient to both parties. The commission was not renewed; and in the second month after the expiration of the year to which it had been limited, a General Court for Connecticut was held at Hartford. In it the aggregate community was represented by six persons, five of whom had been Commissioners, while nine others appeared as "committees," or Deputies, from the

March.

1637. May 1.

several towns. The now organized colony received at the same time the welcome accession of John Haynes. Its population had come to consist of about eight hundred persons, including two hundred and fifty adult men.

Connecticut began her history with a dangerous war with the most formidable of the native tribes. In the same summer in which the emigration of the three churches took place, Governor Vane sent

1636. Aug. 24. Endicott, at the head of a party of ninety men, to demand satisfaction from Sassacus, chief of the Pequot nation, for the murder of four English traders, one of whom was John Oldham. It was Endicott's first trust of such a kind, and he did not execute it with good judgment. He burned some wigwams and canoes, and killed and wounded a small number of the Pequots, but could get no audience of their chief men.

The movement, instead of intimidating, did but irritate that warlike nation. Sassacus exerted himself to engage the Narragansetts, the hereditary enemies of his tribe, in an alliance for exterminating the English in all the settlements. There was great probability that these endeavors would succeed; and, had he been able to conciliate the Narragansetts, and to enlist or overawe the Mohegans, there was no power in the colonists to make head against him, and the days of civilized New England might have been numbered and finished near their beginning. The ancient hostility of the Narragansetts to their overbearing rivals prevailed

enforced by the diplomacy of Roger Williams, who, at the hazard of his life, visited their settlements to counteract the solicitations with which they were addressed. Determined by his influence, some of the Narragansett chiefs came to Boston in the autumn, and concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with the colonists. The furious and formidable Pequots were to fight their battle alone.

They spared no measures of a nature to spread consternation and provoke resentment. In the autumn, they caught one Butterfield near the garrison at the river's mouth, and he was never heard of more. A few days after, they took two men out of a boat, and murdered them with ingenious barbarity, cutting off first the hands of one of them, then his feet. All winter, a marauding party kept near the fort, of which they burned the out-buildings and the hay, and killed the cattle. Towards spring, Gardiner, the commander, went out with ten men for some farming work; they were waylaid by the Indians, and three of them were slain. Soon after, two men sailing down the river were stopped and horribly mutilated and mangled; their bodies were cut in two, lengthwise, and the parts hung up by the river's bank. A man who had been carried off from Wethersfield was roasted alive. All doubt as to the necessity of vigorous action was over, when a band of a hundred Pequots attacked that place, killed seven men, a woman, and a child, and carried away two girls. They had now put to death no less than thirty of the English.

The two hundred and fifty men in the Connecticut towns were surrounded by Indian tribes, who, from their hunting grounds between Hudson River and Narragansett Bay, could, if united, have fallen upon them with a force of at least four or five thousand warriors. The Pequots, already engaged in open hostility against them, numbered not fewer than a thousand fighting men. It was but too probable that the friendship of the other tribes would not long be proof against the seductions by which they continued to be plied. There seemed no alternative for the distressed colonists, except their own speedy extermination or a sudden exercise of courage and conduct that should crush the assailant. And, if a bold movement should succeed, it might be expected to impress a salutary lesson; to break up the dangerous negotiations which had been on foot; to settle for the future the relations of the parties; and to entail a lasting enjoyment of security and peace.

Applications to Massachusetts and Plymouth for aid were answered by the promise of an auxiliary force of two hundred men, one fifth of that number to be furnished by Plymouth. But no time could be spared for these troops to come up. Forty-two soldiers were furnished by Hartford, thirty by Windsor, and eighteen by Wethersfield, and the command was intrusted to Captain John Mason, of Windsor, an officer who, after serving with credit in the Netherlands under Sir Thomas Fairfax, had come to Massachusetts, where, before

his next remove, he had been a Deputy for Dorchester in the General Court. For the transportation of his English troops, and of seventy friendly Indians, led by the Mohegan, Uncas, Mason had three small vessels. At Gardiner's fort he met Captain John Underhill, of Massachusetts, who, with twenty men, had been despatched to his aid. These Mason decided to take with him, sending back as many of his own party for the protection of the exposed settlements.

A question which presented itself at the outset divided the opinions of his council of officers. His orders were express to land at Pequot River, and attack the enemy on their western frontier. He knew this to be the side from which they were expecting the assault, and which they had strengthened accordingly; and he preferred to approach them through the Narragansett country, in their rear. His officers shrank from the responsibility of disobeying the instructions, and leaving their homes so long undefended as the protracting of the campaign through several days would require. Mason proposed to leave the question undecided till, during the next night, the chaplain, Mr. Stone, should have sought the Divine direction in prayer. It was so arranged, and, early the next morning, Mr. Stone reported at headquarters that the Captain's plan for the campaign was the correct one, — a judgment which was forthwith unanimously confirmed by a council of war.

Accordingly, the little squadron set sail from the

fort, and arrived the next evening at the place of its destination, near the western cape of the entrance to Narragansett Bay, at the foot of what is now called Tower Hill. The next day they kept their Sabbath quietly on shipboard, and then came a storm which prevented them from disembarking till Tuesday evening. Mason had an interview with the sachem of the friendly Narragansetts, who engaged to reinforce him with two hundred men of his own, and as many of the neighboring Nyantic tribe. Here, too, Mason received a message from Providence, informing him of the arrival of a Massachusetts party at that place, under Captain Patrick, and proposing to him to wait till it could come up. But a rapid movement was thought to be of more consequence than an augmented force.

1637. May 20.

On the day following his debarkation, Mason, at the head of seventy-seven brave Englishmen, (the rest being left in charge of the vessels,) sixty frightened Mohegans, and four hundred more terrified Narragansetts and Nyantics, marched twenty miles westward, towards the Pequot country, to a fort occupied by some suspected neutrals. For fear lest intelligence should be conveyed, this fort was invested for the night. On Thursday, after a march of about fifteen miles, to a place five miles northwest of the present principal village of Stonington, the soldiers encamped, an hour after dark, near to a hill, upon which, according to information received from their allies, (who

May 24.

"being possessed with great fear," had nearly all fallen behind,) stood the principal stronghold of the Pequots. It was evident that no alarm had been given, for the sentinels could hear the noisy revelling within the place, which was kept up till midnight. The savages, who from the heights had seen the vessels pass to the eastward along the Sound, supposed that the settlers had abandoned their hostile intentions in despair.

Their fort was a nearly circular area of an acre or two, enclosed by trunks of trees, twelve feet high, or thereabouts, set firmly in the ground so closely as to exclude entrance, while the interstices served as port-holes for marksmen. Within, arranged along two lanes, were some seventy wigwams, covered with matting and thatch. At two points, for entrance, spaces were left between the timbers, these intervals being protected only by a slighter structure, or loose branches.

At these points, Mason and Underhill were to force an entrance, each at the head of half the Englishmen, while those of their Indian allies who remained (the Nyantics and Narragansetts having mostly disappeared) should invest the fort in a circle, and arrest the fugitives. Before breaking up their camp, the little band took time to join in prayer. Two hours before dawn, under a bright moonlight, they set off for the fort, two miles distant. Mason had come within a few feet of the sally-port which he was seeking, when a dog barked, and the cry of *Owanux! Owanux!* "English-

men! Englishmen!" which immediately followed, showed that the alarm was given. With sixteen men he instantly pushed into the enclosure. Underhill did the same on the opposite side. The terrified sleepers rushed out of their wigwams, but soon sought refuge in them again from the English broadswords and fire-arms. Their number was too great to be dealt with by such weapons. Snatching a live brand from a wigwam, Mason threw it on a matted roof; Underhill set fire in his quarter with a train of powder; and the straw village was presently in flames. All was over in an hour. The muskets of the English brought down those who escaped the conflagration, and most of the stragglers who avoided this fate fell into the hands of the native allies, who had kept cautiously aloof from the conflict, but had no mercy on the fugitives. "It is reported by themselves," says Underhill, "that there were about four hundred souls in this fort, and not above five of them escaped out of our hands." According to other accounts, seven hundred perished. Of the English only two men were killed, but the number of wounded was more than a quarter of the force.

Mason had a narrow escape. An Indian close by had taken deliberate aim at him, when Mason's orderly made a spring at the savage just in time to cut the bowstring. There was another Indian fort four or five miles further west, near the path to Pequot Harbor, where he had appointed to meet his vessels. He did not know the way out of the

country. His movements were encumbered by his wounded, who, with their bearers, amounted to full half his force; his scanty supply of ammunition and food was spent; his surgeon had been left behind at the Narragansett landing; and the heat of the weather was overpowering. As the party kept on their slow way, they saw approaching more than three hundred savages from the other fort, who, informed of the morning's work, were tearing their hair, stamping on the ground, and clamoring for revenge. Hiring his allies to carry the wounded, Mason managed to keep up the spirits of his exhausted men, and to hold the assailants at bay while he pursued his impeded march. Fifty of his Narragansetts, set upon by the Pequots, took to flight, and he had to detach Underhill with a party for their rescue. At length, as he reached an eminence, at ten o'clock in the morning, his eyes were gladdened by the sight of Pequot Harbor, and of his vessels coming to anchor within it. The weary conquerors thanked God and took courage, owning, in the spirit of the time, the special Providence that sent them such relief. Their appearance on the heights, "with colors flying," gave the seamen the first notice of their approach, their drum having been "left at the rendezvous the night before."

At evening they went to rest on board the vessels, in which they found the company from Massachusetts, under Captain Patrick; it had arrived at Point Judith after the departure of the land expedition, and been taken on board. The first care

was to despatch the greater part of the force for the protection of the towns. Then, sending round the wounded by sea, and scouring the intervening country with what remained of his command, Mason led them by land to the fort, where they were "nobly entertained by Lieutenant Gardiner, with many great guns," and where they rested for their Sabbath. The next week saw the whole dispersed to their homes in the three towns. The imagination easily pictures the welcome which greeted the deliverers.

The remnant of the doomed nation collected in the western fort. After stormy debate on the question whether they should fall upon the Narragansetts or upon the English, or seek safety by flight, they resolved on the last course; and burning their wigwams and their supplies, they set off to join the Mohawks, on the Hudson. Giving new provocation by putting to death some Englishmen on the way, they were pursued by Mason with forty men, who were joined by one hundred and twenty from Massachusetts, under Stoughton. A party of the fugitives, some three hundred in number, was overtaken a little west of where now stands New Haven, encamped in a spot surrounded by quagmires, which rendered it difficult of access. The English sent an interpreter, with a proposal, which was accepted, for a surrender of the old men, women, and children, whom they were "loath to destroy." In the foggy morning which followed, the warriors made a sally, and seventy broke through

and escaped. Stragglers of the tribe were put to death in considerable numbers by neighboring Indians, who all seem to have owed the Pequots an ancient grudge. Sassacus was killed by the Mohawks, to whom he had fled. The Pequot nation became extinct, the survivors being merged, under English mediation, in the Narragansett, Mohegan, and Nyantic tribes. And from savage violence *the land had rest forty years*.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ANTINOMIAN FACTION.

The war against the Pequots had been waged by the English on the Connecticut at such extreme disadvantage, that nothing short of a conviction of its necessity can be supposed to have induced them to engage in it. The settlements which undertook to equip and victual a force consisting of more than one third of their adult males, were themselves not far from starvation. In the summer of the principal emigration, the labors of husbandry had been interrupted by those of making roads and erecting and fortifying habitations. In the autumn there were only thirty ploughs in Massachusetts, and it is not likely that there was a quarter of that number in Connecticut. In the winter which followed, the cattle suffered from insufficiency of food and shelter; and farming stock, and provisions, both meat and grain, bore an enormous price, while hunting and fishing were made dangerous occupations by the near neighborhood of watchful savages. Nor did the struggle, successful as it had been, fail to bring heavy burdens of its own While so large a proportion of the able-bodied men were in the field, production was stinted on the one hand, and debt incurred on the other

Indian corn was sold for twelve shillings a bushel, at the time when a tax of five hundred and fifty pounds was levied to pay the expenses of the war, and the towns were required to furnish themselves with military stores, and the individual citizens to keep themselves provided with arms and ammunition.

While the Pequot war was going on, still more serious embarrassments of a different description were crippling the energy of the settlement on the Bay. When Patrick and Stoughton were despatched to Connecticut, they left the elder colony rent by faction, and in imminent danger of civil war.

Scarcely were the Massachusetts Magistrates rid of Roger Williams, when they found themselves engaged again in a much more threatening contest than what he had raised, and much more difficult for them to conduct, for various reasons, — one of which was, that the head of opposition was a capable and resolute woman. The name of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson is dismally conspicuous in the early history of New England. She perhaps well-nigh brought it to an end very near to its beginning.

She had come to Massachusetts in the vessel that brought the copy of the commission which empowered the two archbishops and nine others of the Privy Council to regulate foreign plantations and call in charters, — a coinci- 1634. Sept. 18.
dence suited to render internal agitations

doubly unwelcome. She had accompanied her husband from their home at Alford, near Boston, in Lincolnshire, where they had enjoyed a good estate. He is described by Winthrop as "a man of a very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife." She had spirit and talent enough for both. In England, she had found no satisfactory ministrations of religion but those of John Cotton, and of John Wheelwright, her brother-in-law; and her unwillingness to lose the benefit of Cotton's preaching induced her to emigrate. In Boston she soon recommended herself widely as a kind and serviceable neighbor, especially to persons of her own sex in times of sickness; and by these qualities, united with her energy of character and vivacity of mind, she acquired esteem and influence.

The first mention of her by Winthrop is in these words: "One Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the church of Boston, a woman of a ready wit and bold spirit, brought over with her two dangerous errors: first, that the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person; second, that no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. From these errors grew many branches; as first, our union with the Holy Ghost, so as a Christian remains dead to every spiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces, other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself."

Mrs. Hutchinson attached importance to her

doctrines and expositions, sufficient to lead her to undertake a sort of public ministration of them. It had been the practice of the male members of the Boston church to hold meetings by themselves, for recapitulating and discussing the sermons of their ministers. Mrs. Hutchinson instituted similar assemblies for her own sex, which, at one time, were held twice a week. In the want of social meetings of other sorts, it is not matter of surprise that they were attended by nearly a hundred females, some of whom were among the principal matrons of the town. Her bold criticisms were set off by a voluble eloquence, and an imposing familiarity with Scripture. She bestowed unqualified approbation upon Cotton and Wheelwright, whom she declared to be "under a covenant of grace." Of the other ministers of the colony she spoke more and more distrustfully and slightingly, till by-and-by she came to pronounce them in downright terms to be "under a covenant of works."

When the strife broke out in public action, Mrs. Hutchinson had secured the championship of no less a personage than Vane, the young Governor of Massachusetts, besides that of Dummer and Coddington, eminent among the Magistrates, and of other influential persons. The country towns and churches proved to be, on the whole, strongly opposed to her, while all the members of the Boston church were her partisans except five. Of these five, however, were Wilson, the Pastor, and

Winthrop, lately advanced again so far as to the second place in the government. Old friends were estranged, and offensive language was freely used. Mrs. Hutchinson went out of church as the hitherto venerated Wilson rose to speak, and others followed her example of affront in the presence of other preachers.

"The other ministers in the Bay . . . . . came to Boston at the time of a General Court, and entered conference with them, to the end they might know the certainty of these things, and, if need were, they might write to the church of Boston about them, to prevent, if it were possible, the dangers which seemed hereby to hang over that and the rest of the churches." For the present, Cotton gave them satisfaction. Wheelwright was not so explicit. A proposal was made in the Boston church to associate him in office with its Pastor and Teacher. Winthrop, acting with the concurrence of Wilson, whom the delicacy of his position compelled to reserve, with difficulty succeeded in parrying this blow. But the transaction did not fail to leave heart-burnings. Wheelwright was presently invited to a church gathered at Mount Wollaston.

1636. Oct. 25.

These annoyances, together with that of the impending Indian war, and perhaps others of a more personal nature, disturbed the mind of the young and inexperienced Governor. He had scarcely finished half his term of service when he "called a Court of Deputies, to the end he

Dec. 6.

might have free leave of the country," having received "letters from his friends in England, which necessarily required his presence there." In answer to the dissuasive considerations which were urged, "the Governor brake forth into tears, and professed, that, howsoever the causes propounded for his departure were such as did concern the utter ruin of his outward estate, yet he would rather have hazarded all than have gone from them at this time, if something else had not pressed him more ;. namely, the inevitable danger of God's judgments to come upon us for these differences and dissensions which he saw amongst us, and the scandalous imputations brought upon himself, as if he should be the cause of all, and therefore he thought it best for him to give place for a time, etc." This explanation did but cause more earnest remonstrances; and though they were withdrawn, and the Court finally consented to his departure, further expostulations on the part of the Boston church, to which he "expressed himself to be an obedient child," finally turned him from his design.

"The differences in the said points of religion increased more and more; . . . . . every occasion increased the contention, and caused great alienation of minds; . . . . . and it began to be as common to distinguish between men by being under a covenant of grace or a covenant of works, as in other countries between Protestants and Papists." The Court found or believed it necessary to take up the matter in earnest. The ministers, being

consulted, gave their advice, "that, in all such heresies or errors of any church-members as are manifest and dangerous to the State, the Court may proceed without tarrying for the Church." A person of some consequence, "Stephen Greensmith, for affirming that all the ministers, except Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wheelwright, and, he thought, Mr. Hooker, did teach a covenant of works, was for a time committed to the marshal, and after enjoined to make acknowledgment to the satisfaction of every congregation, and was fined forty pounds." A more serious matter presented itself "when Mr. Wheelwright was to be questioned for a sermon which seemed to tend to sedition." Wheelwright, "preaching at the last fast, inveighed against all that walked in a covenant of works, as he described it to be, namely, such as maintain sanctification as an evidence of justification, etc., and called them Antichrists, and stirred up the people against them with much bitterness and vehemency. For this he was called into the Court, and, his sermon being produced, he justified it. . . . . So, after much debate, the Court adjudged him guilty of sedition, and also of contempt, for that the Court had appointed the fast as a means of reconciliation of the differences, etc., and he had purposely set himself to kindle and increase them."

1637. March 9.

The Governor, joined by a few other members of the Court, offered a protest against this proceeding; but the Court refused to receive it. The Bos-

ton church also petitioned in Wheelwright's behalf. The Court deferred his sentence. Contumacious Boston was thought to be not a suitable place for its meetings under present circumstances, and a motion was made that it should next assemble at Newtown. The Governor refused to take the vote. The Deputy-Governor excused himself from doing it, on account of the delicacy of his position as a Boston man. Endicott took the office upon himself, and the measure was carried.

Had the calm and able Winthrop been at the head of the government during these transactions, they might have had a different issue. As it was, they caused the need of his restoration to be felt. At the next Court, the exasperation was at its height. One who considers well the elements that were in conflict may not unreasonably believe that the fate of New England was trembling in the balance. "So soon as the Court was set, ... a petition was preferred by those of Boston." Vane would have read it at once. Win- May 17. throp interposed, and insisted that it was out of order till after the transaction of the first business of the annual Court, the election of Magistrates. On Winthrop's motion, it was decided by a large majority to proceed first to the election; but the Governor still refused; "whereupon the Deputy told him, that, if he would not go to election, he and the rest of that side would proceed." They did so; and the result was, that the old order of things was restored. Winthrop was chosen Gov-

ernor, and Dudley Deputy-Governor; Endicott was joined to them as one of the Magistrates for life; "Mr. Israel Stoughton and Mr. Richard Saltonstall [son of Winthrop's ancient colleague] were called in to be Assistants; and Mr. Vane, Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Dummer, being all of that faction, were quite left out. There was great danger of a tumult that day, for those of that side grew into fierce speeches, and some laid hands on others; but seeing themselves too weak, they grew quiet." In the height of the fray, Wilson climbed a tree and made a speech, the meeting being held in the open air, on Newtown Common.

At the election the next day, Boston returned Vane and Coddington, with Hough, formerly an Assistant, as its Deputies. In the proceedings there had been a trifling informality, of which the Court availed itself to refuse them seats; but, on a reëlection the following day, "the Court not finding how they might reject them, they were admitted." Winthrop ran the gantlet of daily slights from his neighbors. When he went back to Boston, no escort met him, as had been usual. The four Boston sergeants, who had been accustomed to attend the Governor to and from public worship, "laid down their halberds and went home." "The country, taking notice of this, offered to send in some from the neighboring towns, to carry the halberds by course; and, upon that, the town of Boston offered to send some men, but not the sergeants but the Governor chose rather to make use of two of his own servants."

Vane did not bear his defeat with the dignity which his riper character displayed. Before he was Governor, he had been used to sit at public worship in the Magistrates' seat,—a distinction yielded to his distinguished birth; he now left it, with Coddington, and repelled the Governor's invitation to return. The son and heir of the Earl of Marlborough, a boy in his teens, having come to Boston "to see the country," the Governor, whose guest he had declined to be during his stay, invited Vane, with others, to meet him at dinner. Vane "not only refused to come, alleging by letter that his conscience withheld him, but also at the same hour he went over to Noddle's Island to dine with Mr. Maverick, and carried the Lord Leigh with him." June 26.

His only further conspicuous agency in the pending difficulties related to an order of that Court by which he had been displaced, to the effect of excluding, till the next annual Court, "all such persons as might be dangerous to the commonwealth, by imposing a penalty upon all such as should retain any, etc., above three weeks, which should not be allowed by some of the Magistrates." The obvious purpose of the measure was to prevent the increase of the defeated party by recruits from abroad. It was an Alien Law. Winthrop circulated a defence of it, to which Vane replied, and the controversy terminated with a rejoinder from the former. Before the end of the summer, in company with his young friend, Vane Aug. 8.

left the country forever, to pass on to higher and harsher fortunes. At parting, his adherents made an ambitious display of their respect and regrets. "Those of Mr. Vane's party were gathered together, and did accompany him to the boat, and many to the ship; and the men, being in their arms, gave him divers volleys of shot, and five pieces of ordnance, and he had five more at the Castle; the Governor was not come from the Court, but had left order with the captain for their honorable dismission." Abandoned by their great patron, the faction henceforward acted at disadvantage.

The Court had again deferred the sentence of Wheelwright, in the hope that so "their moderation and desire of reconciliation might appear to all." Often things seemed strongly tending to an amicable settlement. "Divers writings were published." The Magistrates issued a defence of their course against Wheelwright, and his friends replied. "Mr. Wheelwright also himself set forth a small tractate," and the ministers retorted, "confuting the same by many strong arguments." But Cotton "replied to their answer very largely, and stated the differences in a very narrow scantling; and Mr. Shepard, preaching at the day of election, brought them yet nearer, so as, except men of good understanding, ... few could see where the difference was." Matters seemed in so good a train that it was hoped a satisfactory accommodation would be effected in a synod, which

had been summoned by the ministers, "with consent of the Magistrates."

It met in Mr. Shepard's church, at Newtown. "There were all the teaching elders through the country, and some men come out of England, not yet called to any place here, as Mr. Davenport." The Magistrates had seats. The moderators were Hooker, of Hartford, and Bulkely, of Concord, from whose recent ordination Cotton had absented himself, conceiving him to be one of the "legal preachers." The discussions, which on the whole appear to have been conducted with much moderation, continued through three weeks. Eighty-two opinions, each represented to have had some unnamed advocate, were with great unanimity condemned as erroneous, even Cotton giving his scarcely qualified consent to the decree. Prominent among them, of course, were the peculiar tenets of Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson. Some practical questions of church discipline, bearing upon the recent proceedings, were "next debated and resolved." Aug. 30.

More than a year had now passed since the strife began, and three months since Vane returned to England. There had been great provocation and excitement; but, down to this time, John Greensmith, fined for slander, was the only one of the disturbers who had been punished in any way. "There was great hope that the late general assembly would have some good effect in pacifying the troubles and dissensions about matters of religion;

but it fell out otherwise." Whether it was, that, with or without authority from Vane, it was hoped on the one side and feared on the other that he would assert in England those doctrines of allegiance which in America he had urged in controversy with Winthrop, or from some other cause, the dispute was revived with such acrimony, that the General Court, "finding upon consultation that two so opposite parties could not contain in the same body without apparent hazard of ruin to the whole, agreed to send away some of the principal."

Nov. 2.

The petition, presented nine months before by members of the Boston church in favor of Wheelwright, was considered as showing the necessity of this measure, in the new ferment which was prevailing. It referred, in ambiguous terms of approbation, which the Court construed as of seditious intent, to the conduct of Peter in drawing his sword, and to that of the Israelites in rescuing Jonathan from Saul. William Aspinwall, a signer of the petition, (and its author, though this was not known till afterwards,) was now a Deputy from Boston; he was sentenced first to dismission from the Court, and then to disfranchisement and expulsion from the territory. John Coggeshall, another Deputy, who declared in Court his approbation of the petition, though he had not signed it, escaped with dismission and disfranchisement. Wheelwright, "refusing to leave either the place or his public exercisings," was also disfranchised, and was

banished. He aggravated his offence by an appeal to the King; but "the Court told him that an appeal did not lie, for, by the King's grant, we had power to hear and determine without any reservation." He was allowed to withdraw to his house, under an engagement to surrender himself to a Magistrate at the end of a fortnight, unless he should previously retire from the jurisdiction. It was probably before the expiration of this time that he went, with a few adherents, to the Piscataqua River, as will be related by-and-by.

Mrs. Hutchinson was next sent for, and was charged, among other things, with railing at the ministers, and with continuing her semi-weekly public lectures, in defiance of determinations of the recent synod. In her defence, she laid claim to prophetical inspiration, and declared that among its communications "this was one: that she had it revealed to her, that she should come into New England and should here be persecuted, and that God would ruin us and our posterity and the whole state for the same." Her trial lasted two days. Two reports of it survive. They contain evidence that her judges did not escape the contagion of her ill-temper. When some of the ministers were to give their testimony, she demanded that they should be sworn. It was done, but not till after objection and delay. She may have meant the claim as an affront; but that was not to be assumed; and, even if known, it did not bar her of her right, which, for every reason of policy and

dignity, as well as of justice, should have been promptly allowed. "So the Court proceeded, and banished her; but, because it was winter, they committed her to a private house, where she was well provided, and her own friends and the elders permitted to go to her, but none else."

When the Court met again, after an adjournment for a few days, it did not find the agitation at an end, though more than a quarter part of the signers of the petition in Wheelwright's behalf had recanted and apologized. John Underhill, the captain in the Pequot war, besides being cashiered, was now disfranchised, with six or seven other subscribers to the obnoxious paper. The rest, with "some others, who had been chief stirrers in these contentions," received an order to surrender their arms, which, "when they saw no remedy, they obeyed." For further security, "the powder and arms of the country, which had been kept at Boston, were carried to Roxbury and Newtown." The number of persons disarmed was seventy-six. "Two of the sergeants of Boston . . . . . were disfranchised and fined: William Balston, twenty pounds; Edward Hutchinson, forty pounds." Coddington, and ten others, having "desired and obtained license to remove themselves and their families out of the jurisdiction," were ordered to carry their professed wish into effect within seven weeks, or else "to appear at the next Court to abide the further order of the Court.

Nov. 15.

The "private house" to which Mrs. Hutchinson

had been committed for the winter was that of Joseph Welde, of Roxbury, Deputy in the General Court, and brother of the minister. Her conversations there with the elders occasioned such offence, that, at their instance, she was cited to answer to a charge of "gross errors" before the church of Boston, so lately her devoted partisans. One of the errors which were specified, namely, that the soul is not naturally immortal, she was prevailed upon, after a long discussion, to retract and condemn; but, as she persisted in the others, the church "agreed she should be admonished." The vote to that effect would have been unanimous but for the dissent of her two sons, who, for their contumacy, "were admonished also." The meeting was opened about noon, after the weekly Thursday lecture, which had taken place an hour earlier than usual. It "continued till eight at night, and all did acknowledge the special presence of God's Spirit therein." Several of her friends, however, were absent, on the search for another home.

1638. March 1.

This was simply an ecclesiastical proceeding. On the part of the government there was still a desire to be lenient, and at all events to avoid provoking a reaction by unnecessary offence; and Mrs. Hutchinson was "licensed by the Court, in regard she had given hope of her repentance, to be at Mr. Cotton's house [in Boston], that both h and Mr. Davenport might have the more opportunity to deal with her." The result was, that "she

March 22

made a retractation of near all" the obnoxious opinions imputed to her, and "declared that it was just with God to leave her to herself as he had done, for her slighting his ordinances, both magistracy and ministry." But she marred all by insisting that the doctrines attributed to her were partly such as she had never maintained. This raised a question of veracity, which was decided against her; and "the church, with one consent, cast her out," or excommunicated her, for having "impudently persisted" in untruth. Cotton acquiesced in the verdict. Her unhappy deportment on this occasion dissipated what was left of her party. "Many poor souls who had been seduced by her, by what they heard and saw that day, were, through the grace of God, brought off quite from her errors, and settled again in the truth." "The sentence was denounced by the Pastor [Wilson], matters of manners belonging properly to his place." Cotton, it is likely, would be naturally averse to that service, from his past relations to the convict. The approach of spring having brought the time for carrying into effect the order of the Court, "after two or three days the Governor sent a warrant to Mrs. Hutchinson to depart this jurisdiction before the last of the month;" which she did ac-
March 28. cordingly, visiting "her farm at the Mount" (Braintree) on her way.

CHAPTER XIII.

RHODE ISLAND AND THE EASTERN SETTLEMENTS.

On the defeat of the Antinomian party, a portion of its members, expelled from Massachusetts or voluntarily departing, dispersed in different directions, to the north and the south. Several went to Williams's settlement at Providence, where, not changing their mind with their climate, they took part in disturbances to be recorded hereafter. A more considerable number established themselves at a lower point on Narragansett Bay.

Before the final action of the government, William Hutchinson, William Coddington, John Clarke, and others, apparently satisfied that, if they should have their choice, it would be best for them to remove, had been looking out for a suitable habitation. Roger Williams proposed to them the beautiful island of Aquetnet in Narragansett Bay. There nineteen persons, the founders of a new colony, met, associated themselves in a body politic, and chose Coddington to be their "Judge," and Aspinwall to be Secretary. With Williams's mediation, they bought the island from the chiefs Canonicus and Miantonomo for the consideration of "forty fathom

1638. March 7.

March 24.

of white beads." Adopting the rule which they had thought so oppressive in Massachusetts, they limited the privileges of residence to "such as should be received in by the consent of the body."

May 13.

Mrs. Hutchinson's propensity to faction was not exhausted nor left behind when she sought a new home. Before a year had passed, she had got Coddington removed from his office, and her weak husband put in his place. Tumults accompanied and followed this petty revolution. At *Portsmouth*, as they presently called their town, the victorious party proceeded to organize themselves under a new civil compact. Coddington and his friends withdrew, and, betaking themselves to the magnificent harbor at the southern end of the island, began a new settlement there, to which they gave the name of *Newport*. During the summer they had an accession of numbers, including forty or fifty adult males. But the separation continued only a short time. Before the expiration of another year, a union was effected between the towns; and it was agreed between them to be jointly ruled by a Governor, Deputy-Governor, and four Assistants, to be chosen annually, the Governor and two Assistants from one town, and the Deputy-Governor and two Assistants from the other. Coddington was elected to be Governor for a year, and William Hutchinson to be one of the Assistants. It was probably the last time that Hutchinson ever held office

1639. April 30.

May 16.

1640. March 12.

Williams said that Hutchinson's wife persuaded him to withdraw, "upon the opinion which newly she had taken up, of the unlawfulness of magistracy." He lived but a year or two longer; and his widow removed, with some of her children, to a spot within or near the border of New Netherland, where, after a few months, the Indians, in a quarrel with the Dutch, murdered her and her family, "to the number," says Cotton Mather, "of about sixteen persons." 1643. Sept.

From year to year Coddington was chosen Governor, and Brenton Deputy-Governor, of the settlements on Aquetnet Island. At first, two General Courts were ordered to be holden annually, alternating, as to place, between Newport and Portsmouth. After two years' trial, one General Court in each year was thought sufficient. The state of things in England now suggested the hope of obtaining Transatlantic protection for the infant settlement; and the General Court raised a committee "to consult about the procuration of a patent for this island and islands and the land adjacent, and to draw up petition or petitions, and to send letter or letters for the same end to Sir Henry Vane." 1640. Aug. 6. 1642. March. Sept. 19.

The planters at Providence conceived a similar design. They too felt strongly the desirableness of a recognition in England, on account alike of their want of some title to their lands besides what they derived from the natives, of their dissensions with one another, and of their isolation from the more

flourishing colonies around them. The character of Roger Williams, as well as his personal relations to Henry Vane, recommended him for employment in the service proposed; and he embarked for England, sailing from New Amsterdam, because still under the sentence of banishment from Massachusetts.

When the Hutchinsons and Coddington sought a refuge on Aquetnet Island, their friend Mr. Wheelwright, on leaving Boston, went in a different direction. With thirty-five companions, he made a settlement on a river called the *Swamscot*, tributary to the Piscataqua, and gave to it the name of *Exeter*. The party established a church and a body politic, committing the enactment of laws to meetings of the whole body, and their administration to a Governor and two Assistants, to be chosen annually. Of the persons concerned in the recent disturbances at Boston, no portion proved afterwards more quiet and orderly than this. But its independent organization lasted only three years.

1639. Oct. 4.

Seaward from the settlement of Wheelwright's friends lay an extensive tract of salt marsh. Hither Mrs. Hutchinson's adherent Nicholas Easton first bent his steps from Boston; but, being presently warned away, he went to join his friends on Rhode Island. Here, the next year, Massachusetts laid out her township of *Hampton*, the fourth settlement within the territory of what is now the State of New Hampshire, and

1638. May 16.

1639. May 22.

the last for more than half a century. Its fifty or sixty inhabitants, recognizing their relation to Massachusetts, established no other than a municipal government.

Others yet of the dispersed party of Mrs. Hutchinson betook themselves to Cochecho, on the Piscataqua. The settlement in this place has been mentioned as one of the most ancient in New England. When it had languished seven or eight years, the Hiltons sold their right in it to some merchants of Bristol. Thomas Wiggin, who came over as agent of the new owners, found only three houses on the spot. Returning to England, Wiggin learned that the patent had been again sold to Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and two other partners. Engaging in their service, he brought with him to Cochecho a company of about thirty persons from the west of England, a part of whom are said to have been of "some account for religion." 1631. 1633. Oct. 10.

Mr. William Leverich came with them as their minister. They did not furnish him a living, and after a year or two he went away. Two years later, George Burdet came to Cochecho from Salem, where he had been preaching to the good satisfaction of the people. He turned out at last to be a spy of Laud. At Cochecho, he immediately became an agitator both in civil and in church affairs. Addressing himself to the anti-Puritan interest, he prevailed on a majority of the planters, first to receive him as their minister, 1637.

and then to make him their ruler, after deposing Wiggin.

While Burdet was in the enjoyment of this two-fold dignity at Cochecho, John Underhill came to seek a retreat there. By the help, probably, of some Antinomian auxiliaries whom he had brought with him, Underhill was chosen to be Gov-
1638. October. ernor of Cochecho in the place of Burdet, who, relieved thus from public station, and moreover detected in some debaucheries, withdrew to Agamenticus.

Hansard Knollys, formerly in England a minister of the established Church, came to Cochecho about the same time as Underhill, and succeeded Burdet in the sacred office, as Underhill did in the civil. A friendship between them was cemented by a sympathy of hatred to Massachusetts. "There
1639. July. was sent to the Governor [Winthrop] the copy of a letter written into England by Mr. Hansard Knollys, of Piscataquack, wherein he had most falsely slandered this government, as that it was worse than the High Commission, etc., and that there was nothing but oppression, etc., and not so much as a face of religion." Knollys, informed of his detection, asked leave to come to Boston, and there, "upon a lecture-day, made a
1640. Feb. 20. very free and full confession of his offence, with much aggravation against himself, so as that the assembly were well satisfied." They were not so well satisfied with Underhill, who lay under the same charge. He too came to Boston,

and in the presence of the church, of which he was still a member, acknowledged himself to be guilty of adultery and other miscarriages. The church, believing his confession and distrusting his remorse, "presently cast him out," and he returned to Cochecho, humiliated and incensed. March 5.

In this mood, he set himself to defeat a negotiation which had been on foot for annexing that settlement to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. But, finding that, among his volatile neighbors, the tide was now running strong against him, he changed his mind again, and, obtaining leave to go to Boston, secured a better reception there than before. "Upon the lecture-day, after sermon," he made a full avowal of his offences, and thereupon was relieved by the church from his excommunication, and by the General Court from his sentence of banishment. Sept. 3.

Returning to his home, he found that the party opposed to annexation to Massachusetts had been growing stronger, and had been concerting a plan for a municipal independence, to be maintained till such time as they should receive instructions from the King. Their champion was one Thomas Larkham, an English clergyman, who had just come among them with a new contribution to their elements of quarrel. The renewed strife between Churchman and Antinomian was not merely a war of words. "Mr. Knollys and his party excommunicated Mr. Larkham, and he again laid violent hands upon Mr. Oct. 22. 1641. May.

Knollys." Larkham's party undertook to arrest Underhill, who, on his part, "gathered some of the neighbors to defend himself, and to see the peace kept; so they marched forth towards Mr. Larkham's, one carrying a Bible upon a staff, for an ensign, and Mr. Knollys with them, armed with a pistol." Seeing that they were likely to be worsted, Larkham's party sent for help to "Mr. Williams, who was Governor of those in the lower part of the river [Strawberry Bank, Portsmouth.]" He came up with a company of armed men, and seized Underhill, who was convicted of a riot, and ordered, with some of his partisans, to quit the plantation.

Williams's own settlement was in no thriving way. David Thompson, who, under the
1623 auspices of John Mason, the patentee, had, eighteen years before this time, attempted a plantation at the mouth of the Piscataqua, soon became discouraged, and removed to an island in Boston harbor, thenceforward called by his name.

Seven years later, Mason and his partners
1630 sent out some fifty men to be employed in fishing, trade, salt-making, and farming, under the superintendence of Captain Walter Neal. He re-
mained but about three years, and then
1634. Mason reinforced the settlement with a new supply of men and money, and gave it in charge
to Francis Williams. Mason died after two
1636. years more, bequeathing his American property to his grandsons, John and Robert Tufton

In the hands of an agent, sent over by his widow and executrix, it ran down. Supplies ceased on the one hand, and remittances on the other. Some settlers went away, and such as remained came to look upon the houses and lands which they occupied as their own property, and ceased to pay rent. From the utter disorder into which the plantation fell, it recovered only through some voluntary combination of the inhabitants, the tenor and date of which are alike unknown.

Experiences of this kind taught the Piscataqua settlements that they were not in a condition to go on comfortably by themselves; the claim of Massachusetts to jurisdiction as far north as to the sources of the Merrimack was always hanging over their heads; the state of affairs in England precluded the expectation of any present attention from that quarter; and the communities were too dissimilar from each other, as well as singly too feeble and heterogeneous, to find sufficient strength in a union together. The natural and prudent resource was to seek the protection of Massachusetts. After a year's negotiation, Strawberry Bank and Cochecho (now called *Dover*) placed themselves under the government of that colony, with careful reservations of the rights of the English patentees to their property in the soil. Two Deputies were allowed to be sent "from the whole river to the Court at Boston;" and in all respects the persons now admitted were to have the priviieges of settlers in Massachusetts. The freemen

1641. June 14.

and Deputies (the settlers at Strawberry Bank, and many at Dover, not being of the Puritan persuasion) were exempted from the obligation of being church-members, Massachusetts having now become strong enough to admit of this deviation from her fundamental policy. Exeter before long followed the example of accession; and Wheelwright, still jealous of the power of Massachusetts, besides being yet under her sentence of banishment, withdrew himself to the territory of Gorges. The three towns — with Hampton, which had been planted by avowed subjects of Massachusetts, and with the neighboring settlements of Salisbury and Haverhill, on the northern bank of the Merrimack — were made to constitute one of the four counties into which Massachusetts was now divided. And for forty years this relation of the New Hampshire towns continued, greatly to their satisfaction and advantage.

1643. May 10.

The country east of the Piscataqua was still almost without English inhabitants. There was probably now no English post eastward of the Plymouth trading-house on the Kennebec, except that at Pemaquid, though some fishermen may have been collected on Muscongus Bay. In settling the country between the Kennebec and the Piscataqua, which was claimed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, scarcely greater progress had been made. Sir Ferdinando sent to the Magistrates of Massachusetts a commission for the government of his province; but they gave

1637. June.

it no attention, being in doubt of his authority. Then he appointed his son, Thomas Gorges, to be Deputy-Governor of his domain, with six persons, residents on the spot, for Counsellors. The Counsellors, who were severally to fill the offices of Secretary, Chancellor, Field-Marshal, Treasurer, Admiral, and Master of Ordnance, were jointly to constitute a Supreme Court of Judicature, to meet every month, and to be served by a Registrar, and a Provost-Marshal. The province was to be divided into counties or bailiwicks, hundreds, and tithings. To form a legislature, eight Deputies, "to be elected by the freeholders of the several counties," were to be associated with the Counsellors. Each county was to have its court, consisting of a lieutenant and eight justices, to be appointed by the council. The Deputy-Governor, arriving soon after, found the official residence at Agamenticus scarcely sufficient to give him shelter, and "nothing of the household stuff remaining but an old pot, a pair of tongs, and a couple of cobirons." George Burdet, formerly the mischief-maker at Dover, now a person of consequence in the capital of Maine, was arrested by Gorges, under a charge of adultery, and other offences. The demagogue, convicted and fined, set sail for England, with threats of vengeance, which, on his arrival there, he saw the futility of attempting to execute.

1640. March 1?

The province was divided into two counties, of one of which Agamenticus, or York, was the prin-

cipal settlement; of the other, Saco. The annual General Courts were appointed to be held at the latter place, while the former was distinguished both by being the residence of the Deputy-Governor, and by the dignity of incorporation as a borough,

1641. April 10. under the hand of the Lord Proprietary himself. The greatness of Agamenticus made it arrogant; and it sent a deputation of alder-

June 25. men and burgesses to the General Court at Saco, to save its metropolitan rights by a solemn

1642. March 3. protest. The Proprietary was its friend, and before long exalted it still more by a city charter, authorizing it and its suburbs, constituting a territory of twenty-one square miles, to be governed, under the name of *Gorgeana*, by a Mayor, twelve Aldermen, a Common Council of twenty-five members, and a Recorder, all to be annually chosen by the citizens. Probably as many as two thirds of the adult males were in places of authority. The forms of proceeding in the Recorder's Court were to be copied from those of the British Chancery. This grave foolery was acted more than ten years.

Meanwhile, reasons similar to those which satisfied the groups of planters about the Piscataqua had influenced a party of settlers on the remote eastern border of the patent of Gorges; and Thomas Purchas and his company, who had sat down on the convenient spot called by the natives *Pejepscot*

1639. July 22. (now Brunswick), sought the protection and by a formal instrument submitted them-

selves to the jurisdiction, of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. Wheelwright, on leaving Exeter to escape from that government, betook himself, with some adherents, to a tract of land adjoining to Agamenticus, which he had bought of Gorges, and gave it the name of *Wells*. Before he had been there long, he had the wisdom to see the folly of the conduct which had made him an exile; and he wrote to Governor Winthrop, avowing that he had been misled by his "own distempered passions." He was answered with respect and courtesy, and his sentence of banishment was revoked, "without his appearance." He continued, however, in his new settlement a short time, till it seemed to be thriving, and then returned to the neighborhood of his former residence, and lived seven years at Hampton. Next he sailed for England, where, like other ministers from Massachusetts, he enjoyed the special regard of Cromwell. After the restoration of the monarchy, he returned to New England, and ended his days at Salisbury, having lived to be the oldest minister in the colonies.

1643. April 17

The patent of Gorges conflicted with another grant of the Council for New England, called the *Lygonia*, or *Plough* patent, which gave to John Dy and others a territory, forty miles square, including the lower part of the River Saco, and extending northeasterly along the coast, nearly to Casco Bay. After the breaking out of the Great Rebellion in England, this patent was

1643. April 7.

purchased from the holders by Alexander Rigby a patriot member of Parliament, who sent out George Cleaves to look after his property. Pro-
1644. ceeding to organize a government upon the place, Cleaves was interrupted by a remonstrance from Richard Vines, who had been left at the head of Gorges's government, on the recent departure of the Deputy-Governor for England. Vines put a messenger from Cleaves in prison, and both potentates came to Boston, to represent their case to the Magistrates of Massachusetts. Neither got anything more than advice to keep quiet till further instructions should arrive from England. It would not have been prudent, by the rejection of this counsel, to tempt the inhabitants of the Bay to interpose to keep the peace between them; they were not strong enough, or near enough, to threaten each other with serious harm; and here their controversies ended for the present. The loyal and hearty proprietor of Maine was now involved in his king's affairs; and when, if not before, he died, as he did soon after being taken prisoner by the Parliamentary forces at Bristol, his Transatlantic possessions fell to the management of hands ess diligent and less able.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, AND PLYMOUTH.

We pass to the opposite extremity of New England, where, simultaneously with the settlement at Aquetnet, another community was erected, of a different character from any of those which were mentioned in the last chapter. Theophilus Eaton has already been named as a member and Assistant of the Massachusetts Company. The son of a clergyman at Stony Stratford in Buckinghamshire, he had risen to opulence in London, and had attracted the notice of the government, by which he was sent in a diplomatic capacity to Denmark. He was a parishioner of John Davenport, minister of St. Stephen's Church, in Coleman Street, London. Davenport, son of a mayor of Coventry, in Warwickshire, was an Oxford graduate, and a clergyman of so much eminence as to have attracted the special notice of Laud, who mentions him in a letter to the King. Driven by the proceedings of that prelate to resign his cure, he was for some time preacher to an English congregation at Amsterdam. By John Cotton, with whom he had kept up a correspondence, he was induced to turn his thoughts towards America; and at Davenport's instance — at all events in his

1634. Jan. 2.

company — Eaton came to New England, arriving there, with a number of friends "in two ships," at the height of the troubles of the Antinomian controversy and the Pequot war.

1637. June 26.

The habits of thought of this fraternity led them to carry out to its last results the idea which had fascinated so many thinking persons at that period, of finding in Scripture a special rule for everything of the nature of civil as well as of ecclesiastical order and administration; and, for the experiment, they desired a more unoccupied field than was to be found at that late hour in Massachusetts. Having taken some months for inquiry and deliberation, they in early spring set forth by water to Quinnipiack, — an inviting site, on a commodious harbor of Long Island Sound, thirty miles west of the mouth of Connecticut River. The company included two ministers besides Davenport; namely, Samuel Eaton and Peter Prudden.

1638. March 30.

Their voyage occupied a fortnight. Under the shelter of an oak, they kept their first Sabbath, listening to a sermon from Davenport on the leading up of Jesus into the wilderness to be tempted. A few days later, "after fasting and prayer," they formed their political association by what they called a "plantation covenant," "to distinguish it from a church covenant, which could not at that time be made, a church not being then gathered." In this compact they resolved, "that as in matters that concern the gathering of a

April 15.

church, so likewise in all public offices which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing of laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature," they would "be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures hold forth." This constitution had no external sanction, and comprehended no acknowledgment of the government of England. The company consisted mostly of Londoners, who at home had been engaged in trade. In proportion to their numbers, they were the richest of all the plantations. Like the settlers on Narragansett Bay, they had no other title to their lands than that which they obtained by purchase from the Indians. Nov. 24. Dec. 11.

Before proceeding further, the settlers at Quinnipiack gave themselves a year to learn from experience the arrangements suitable to a social organization for persons so circumstanced. Then "all the free planters" met in a barn, "to consult about settling civil government according to God." Mr. Davenport prayed and preached from the text, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars;" demonstrating the propriety of designating seven competent men to construct the government which was contemplated. By a unanimous vote his hearers determined that "the Scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties which they are to perform to God and men." After the plan approved in 1639. June 4.

Massachusetts, they resolved that "church-members only should be free burgesses," with power to legislate and to elect magistrates. And they designated twelve men, who were "to choose out of themselves seven, that should be most approved of the major part, to begin the church." The votes were subscribed, on the day of their adoption, by sixty-three persons, and soon after by about fifty more.

After due time for reflection, the twelve electors chose the "seven pillars," and after another pause,
Aug. 22. the pillars proceeded to their office of constituting the body of church-members. Next, at a meeting held by them as a "court," all former trusts were pronounced vacated and null;
Oct. 25. their associates in the church, nine in number, were recognized as freemen; and Eaton, elected by the sixteen as "Magistrate" for a year, and four other persons chosen with him to be "Deputies," were addressed by Mr. Davenport in what was called a *charge*. A "public notary," or Secretary, was also appointed, and a "marshall," or Sheriff. The "Freeman's Charge," which stood in the place of an oath, pledged no allegiance to the King, or to any other authority than "the civil government here established." The little State of Quinnipiack was as yet independent of all the world.

It was resolved that there should be an annual General Court, or meeting of the whole body, in the month of October; and "that the word of God should be the only rule to be attended unto

in ordering the affairs of government." By the authority thus constituted, orders were immediately made for the building of a meeting-house, for the distribution of house-lots and pasturage, for precautions against attacks from the savages, and for regulation of the prices of commodities and of labor. And the general course of administration proceeded thenceforward in the same manner as in the earlier well-organized plantations. In its second year, the town took the name of *New Haven.* 1640. Sept. 1.

The Englishmen at Quinnipiack had not fully arranged their own social system before they began to swarm; and others, of similar sentiments and objects, came presently to seek homes in their neighborhood. Among the new-comers were the Reverend Henry Whitefield; William Leet, destined to act a distinguished part in the colony; and Samuel Desborough, brother of Cromwell's general of that name. A company of two hundred persons, some of them from Quinnipiack, some from Wethersfield, were led by the Reverend Mr. Prudden to a harbor on Long Island Sound, near the mouth of the Housatonic, which they bought of the Indians, and, after a year's occupation, called by the name of *Milford.* Another party, fresh from England, under the conduct of Mr. Whitefield, went somewhat further in the opposite direction, and established themselves, also on the shore of Long Island Sound, at a place named by them *Guilford*, after the 1639. Aug. 22. Sept. 29

English town from which several of them had come Leet, then a young man, and Desborough, were of this company.

The founders of both Milford and Guilford, taking for their model the proceedings at the recent settlement, erected their Church and State on a foundation of "seven pillars." Departing from the method of organization which had been pursued in Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, the settlement at New Haven, and those which had made it their model, at first maintained a complete independence of each other. They preferred what has been called, in Greek history, the system of *autonomy*. Perhaps the incentive to this scheme was an idea of extending to civil institutions the *Separatist* theory of an absolute independence of churches. Very soon, however, this scheme was partially abandoned, when, under the auspices of the government at New Haven, a company from Norfolk in England founded the town of Southhold near the eastern end of Long Island; a party who had taken offence at Wethersfield sat down, under the protection of New Haven, at Stamford; and a similar movement, as yet with little result, was made towards Greenwich, close to the New-Netherland frontier. Nor was it long before the whole plan of this independence on a small scale was given up as unreasonable and inconvenient. When Guilford had enjoyed its isolated sovereignty four years, it saw the wisdom of connecting itself with New Haven

1640. October.

1641.

1643.

and the settlements already in "combination" with that town; and what was thenceforward called the "jurisdiction" of New Haven was thus formed. Three months later, Milford too annexed itself, and the Colony of New Haven was fully constituted.

Eaton was chosen Governor of the newly organized community, with Stephen Goodyeare, also of New Haven, for Deputy-Governor, and four other Assistant Magistrates, one a freeman of New Haven, two of Milford, and one of Stamford. A system of judicial administration was constituted. Each plantation was to choose for itself "ordinary judges," to hear and determine "all inferior causes." From the "Plantation Courts" was to lie an appeal to the "Court of Magistrates," (consisting of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants,) who were also to have original jurisdiction in "weighty and capital cases, whether civil or criminal;" and from the latter tribunal appeals and complaints might be made, and brought to the General Court as the highest for the jurisdiction. In the determination of appeals, "with whatsoever else should fall within their cognizance or judicature," the Courts were to "proceed according to the Scriptures, which is the rule of all righteous laws and sentences."

A list, taken in the same year, of "the planters" in the town of New Haven, exhibits the names of a hundred and thirty-two persons, including eight women. A reckoning of their family dependents swelled the number to four hundred and sixteen; but it is known that some of these never came to

America. The aggregate property of the planters was rated at thirty-six thousand three hundred and thirty-seven pounds sterling.

When the Pequot war had been concluded, the business first demanding the attention of the General Court of the towns on Connecticut River was to defray the expenses that had been incurred, to make arrangements for future security against the Indians, and to purchase from them supplies of food till the new fields should become productive. These first cares disposed of, the planters of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield met to constitute a "public state or commonwealth" by voluntary combination, and to settle its plan of government. The instrument framed by them has been called "the first example in history of a written constitution, — a distinct organic law, constituting a government and defining its powers." It provided that all persons should possess the franchise who should be admitted to it by the freemen of the towns, and take an oath of allegiance to the commonwealth; that there should be two meetings of freemen in a year, at one of which, to be holden in April, they should elect a Governor, and not fewer than six other Magistrates; that, at the same times, there should be meetings of Deputies, four to be sent from each of the existing towns, and as many as the General Court should determine from towns subsequently constituted; and that the General Court, consisting of the Governor and at least four Magis-

1638. Feb. 9.

1639. Jan. 14.

trates, and a majority of the Deputies, should have power to make laws for the whole jurisdiction, "to grant levies, to admit freemen, dispose of lands undisposed of to several towns or persons, to call either Court or Magistrate or any other person whatsoever into question for any misdemeanor," and to deal in any other matter that concerned the good of the commonwealth, except election of Magistrates, "which was to be done by the whole body of freemen." The Governor was not reëligible till a year after the expiration of his term of office. In the absence of special laws, "the rule of the word of God" was to be followed. Neither the oaths of officers nor of freemen promised any allegiance except to "the jurisdiction." The whole constitution was that of an independent State. It continued in force, with very little alteration, a hundred and eighty years, securing, throughout that period, a degree of social order and happiness such as is rarely the fruit of civil institutions.

At the first election, Haynes, formerly Governor of Massachusetts, was chosen Governor. The administration proceeded in substantially the same manner as in the earlier governments of Massachusetts and Plymouth, except that in Connecticut the Court of Magistrates confined itself more to judicial business. In the first year a general law was passed, of an elaborate character, for the incorporation of *towns*, on the model of those in Massachusetts, each with a government for municipal affairs, of "three, five, or seven of

Oct. 10.

their chief inhabitants," chosen annually by themselves. A public registry was established in each town for conveyances of real estate, with the provision, that "all bargains or mortgages of land whatsoever should be accounted of no value until they were recorded."

Connecticut had, in the course of the year, interposed itself by two new plantations between New Haven and the Dutch. Mr. Ludlow, with eight or ten families from Windsor, began a settlement at an inviting spot called by the Indians *Uncoa*, and by the English *Fairfield*, at the head of a small inlet from Long Island Sound. They were joined by a party from Watertown, in Massachusetts, and before long by another from Concord; and after some questions, in which Mr. Ludlow did not escape censure, their Deputies were admitted to the General Court of Connecticut. East of Fairfield, between it and the Housatonic, and near the mouth of that river, a number of persons — several recently arrived from England, several from Boston and other parts of Massachusetts, and a few from the Connecticut towns — collected on an expanse of meadow-land, known then by the names of *Cupheage* and *Pequannock*, and since by that of *Stratford*. The General Court recognized them by setting out their bounds and providing for the administration of justice within them. They had bought their lands of the Indians, and pretended no other title.

1640. June 11.

June 15.

The post at the mouth of the Connecticut, which

Gardiner had commanded in the Pequot war, had as yet, and for four or five years longer, no political connection with the upper towns. It was nothing but a fort, occupied by some twenty men, and surrounded by a few buildings and a little cultivated land, till George Fenwick, "and his lady and family, arrived to make a plantation." 1639. July. Fenwick, "a worthy, pious gentleman, and of a good family and estate," had been a barrister of Gray's Inn. His wife was a daughter of Sir Edward Apsley. He was interested in the Connecticut patent, and to explore its territory had made a short visit to this country three years before. He now came as agent for the patentees, and, fixing on the site at the river's mouth as his residence, gave it the name of *Saybrook*, in honor of the two noblemen who were the most distinguished members of the company which he represented.

The connection of Pynchon's settlement with the lower towns was of brief duration, and had not been well defined even while it lasted. There had been disagreements with him from the first, and Massachusetts had always held that his plantation lay within her territory, as described by the charter. At length, on a petition of Pynchon and his company to the General Court at Boston, Springfield (as it was now called, instead of *Agawam*, the Indian name which it had hitherto borne,) was recognized as falling within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; and commissioners were appointed "to lay out the south line" of that 1641. June 2.

colony, to be joined by such as Connecticut might designate for the purpose.

After three years this loss to Connecticut was more than made up by two additions. A company consisting of "about forty families," from Lynn, in Massachusetts, "finding themselves straitened," had bought land of the Indians, on the south side of Long Island, near its eastern end, and there begun a plantation which they called *Southampton*. For a while they formed an independent community; but learning from experience the disadvantages of this condition, they entered into an agreement to "associate and join themselves to the jurisdiction of Connecticut;" and their Deputies were admitted to the General Court of that Colony. A more important accession was that of the settlement at Saybrook. On condition of receiving the avails, for ten years, of certain duties to be collected from all vessels passing out of the river, and of certain taxes on the domestic trade in beaver and live stock, Fenwick conveyed the fort, with its armament and "appurtenances," and the "land upon the river," "except such as was already private property," to the "jurisdiction of Connecticut." He further covenanted to obtain for that jurisdiction the property of "all the lands from Narragansett River to the fort of Saybrook mentioned in a patent granted by the Earl of Warwick to certain nobles and gentlemen, ... i. it came into his power."

1640–1641.

1641. Oct. 25.

Dec. 5.

The perplexities of the colony of Plymouth, consequent upon its connection with the English partners, were still far from being unravelled. Among the objects of Edward Winslow's visit to England, one was the defence of the chartered rights of Massachusetts before the Privy Council, and another the final adjustment of the mercantile affairs of Plymouth. One of his first measures after arriving incurred the disapprobation of the far-sighted Governor of Massachusetts. In a petition to the Lords Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, in which were set forth the ambitious designs of the French and Dutch, he prayed the Commissioners, "on the behalf of the plantations in New England," to "either procure their peace with those foreign States, or else to give special warrant unto the English to fight and defend themselves against all foreign enemies;" — a step, says Winthrop, "undertaken by ill advice, for such precedents might endanger our liberty, that we should do nothing but by commission out of England." 1634.

Winslow flattered himself prematurely that his business was prospering. At the time of his arrival, the appointment of a General Governor was seriously meditated. When, in a hearing before the Council, he had successfully parried the charges made by Morton under the instigation of Gorges and Mason, the archbishop, taking him to task for officiating in religious ministrations, and for marrying in his capacity of Magistrate, browbeat the Commissioners into ordering his committal to the

Fleet prison, where he lay four months. When the business with Shirley, Beauchamp, and Andrews, the London partners, was resumed, it was under some disadvantage from this delay. The Plymouth people believed that they had already made remittances of merchandise more than sufficient to discharge their obligations. But they had reposed a degree of confidence, such as in transactions between the most upright men does not tend to the highest ultimate satisfaction; barter accounts had gone on unstated from year to year; questions arose upon mutually conflicting claims of the English associates; and the complicated embarrassments became distressing to persons who could not consent to fall short of their engagements, but who could not afford to go much beyond them. Repeatedly, after seeming to themselves to have already done more than discharge their debts, they were moved by some new complaint to send to England all the later accumulations of their hard labor.

But, notwithstanding such discouragements, prosperity could not fail at last to come in the train of industry and intelligence such as were exercised at Plymouth. The large emigration to Massachusetts created a profitable market. "It pleased God, in these times, so to bless the country with such access and confluence of people into it, as it was thereby much enriched, and cattle of all kinds stood at a high rate for divers years together." A cow was sold for twenty pounds, sometimes even

as high as twenty-eight pounds; a goat for three or four pounds; and corn for six shillings a bushel; "by which means the ancient planters which had any stock began to grow in their estates . . . . . so as other trading began to be neglected." 1638. The commerce with the Indians on the Kennebec, which had been likely to be abandoned, was farmed by the colony to a new company, for the rent of a sixth part of the profits, "with the first fruits of which they built a house for a prison." This was one sign of the permanency of the settlement, which hitherto had been matter of uncertainty. When the Dorchester planters came to the Connecticut, their Plymouth rivals complained 1635. of being deprived "of that which they had with charge and hazard provided, and intended to remove to, as soon as they could and were able." Three years later, it was remarked of "a great and fearful earthquake," which was 1638. June 1. felt at Plymouth and the other settlements, that 'it fell out at the same time divers of the chief of this town were met together at one house, conferring with some of their friends that were upon their removal from the place, as if the Lord would hereby show the signs of his displeasure in their shaking apieces and removals one from another."

One reason of their unsettled state was the continued ill-success of their endeavors to obtain a minister who should in some measure supply to them the place of their venerated Robinson. Smith was soon seen to be a man of mean abilities; and

after six or seven years' patient endurance of him by the colony, he "laid down his place of ministry, partly by his own willingness, as thinking it too heavy a burden, and partly at the desire and persuasion of others." To assist him, Winslow had brought over from England Mr. John Norton, "who was well liked of them, and much desired by them." But he remained at Plymouth only through a winter, and then departed, to enter on a conspicuous career in Massachusetts. On Smith's retirement, "it pleased the Lord to send them," in Mr. Rayner, "an able and godly man, and of a meek and humble spirit, sound in the truth, and every way unreprovable in his life and conversation;" but not, it appears, of commanding abilities or character. Two years after Norton's departure, Mr. Charles Chauncy, "a reverend, godly, and very learned man," as he afterwards fully proved himself, was brought to Rayner's aid. He soon announced himself to be a believer in the doctrine of baptism by immersion. Indisposed to have any variance with him on that account, the congregation offered to respect his conscience, if he would but tolerate theirs, and to allow the rite to be performed by the two ministers in whichever way they and the subjects of it should prefer. "But he said he could not yield thereunto;" and, after unsuccessful attempts at accommodation, he withdrew from his relation to the Plymouth church, at the end of nearly three years.

1636. 1635. 1638.

For almost sixteen years from the beginning of the old colony, the scanty record which remains of the public administration exhibits it as principally occupied with police and military regulations, and rules and orders for the division of lands and the settlement of estates. In the sixteenth year, a committee was raised, consisting of four freemen of Plymouth, two of Scituate, and two of Duxbury, to aid the Governor and Assistants in *codifying* the laws, of which "divers were found worthy the reforming, others the rejecting, and others fit to be instituted and made." Under a system of general jurisprudence such as suited the simple wants of the colony, the report of the committee included a revisal of the constitution of government. It provided that annual elections of a Governor, seven Assistants, a Treasurer, a Coroner, a Clerk, Constables, and other inferior officers, should be made by the freemen on the first Tuesday of March; and it defined the very narrow powers of those functionaries, reserving to the body of freemen the chief share of both legislation and administration. The oaths prescribed to be taken by freemen and residents, as well as by officers, — unlike those in use in Massachusetts and in the western settlements, — comprehended an engagement of loyalty to the King; and the Courts were ordered to be held in his name. Laws and ordinances were to be made only by the freemen, who were cautioned to be just in laying taxes upon others.

1636. Nov. 15.

The same policy by which in Massachusetts the holders of the soil selected their associates, was adopted in a supplementary rule, "that no person or persons thereafter should be permitted to live and inhabit within the government of New Plymouth without the leave and liking of the Governor, or two of the Assistants, at least." The frame
1638. of government was before long completed by the creation of a second class of legislators. On a "complaint that the freemen were put to many inconveniences and great expenses by their continual attendance at the Courts," it was "enacted by the Court, for the ease of the several colonies and towns within the government, that every town should make choice of two of their freemen, and the town of Plymouth of four, to be Committees or Deputies to join with the bench to enact and make all such laws and ordinances as should be judged to be good and wholesome for the whole." Laws might, however, be enacted or repealed by the whole body of freemen, convened in their Courts of Election. The Deputies, who were to be freemen, were to be paid by their towns; and tax-paying "masters of families," though not freemen, were to have a vote in their election. Deputies found to be "insufficient or troublesome" might be "dismissed" by their associates and the Assistants, in which case their town should "choose other freemen in their place." At a
1639. June 4 General Court in the next year, Deputies appeared from seven towns, namely, Plymouth

Duxbury, Scituate, Sandwich, Cohannet (Taunton), Yarmouth, and Barnstable. In the same year "Ussamequin [Massasoit] and Mooanam, his son, came into the Court in their own proper persons," and, at their request, "the ancient league and confederacy, formerly made," and now enlarged by some further stipulations, was "renewed, and ordered to stand and remain inviolable." Sept 25.

The first patent of Plymouth had defined no boundaries. The second never took effect, having been surrendered by Pierce in the sequel of a dispute with the Associates. The grant in the third furnished the rule for determining the line between the jurisdictions of Massachusetts and Plymouth. If the patents conflicted in the descriptions of the territory conveyed, the claim of Massachusetts was best, as being prior in time; but it was maintained by Plymouth that the other colony gave an unjustifiable interpretation to the name *Charles River*, in holding it to extend as far south as the most southerly of its tributaries. The Plymouth planters had assigned, partly to their London associates, and partly to actual settlers, certain lands at a place called *Scituate*, contiguous to the Massachusetts town of Hingham, but understood by the Plymouth people to lie within their own northeastern border. A dispute which ensued between the neighbors was taken up by their respective governments. Commissioners, two on each side, 1621. 1622. 1630. June 13.

met, and came to an agreement, which proved mutually satisfactory for the present, though under a change of circumstances, it was revised at a later time. 1644.

The patent from the Council for New England, under which the lands continued to be held, was a grant to "William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns." The freemen, being now dispersed through seven towns in addition to Plymouth, desired legal possession of the common property; and Bradford executed an instrument, by which, after certain reservations for the "Purchasers or Old Comers," he surrendered "into the hands of the whole Court, consisting of the freemen of the corporation of New Plymouth, all that other right and title, power, authority, privileges, immunities, and freedoms, granted in the said letters patents by the said right honorable Council for New England." 1641. March 2.

The vexatious business with the English partners was brought to a partial settlement by their consent to give a full discharge on the receipt of twelve hundred pounds. One of them, Andrews, "a haberdasher in London, a godly man," presented five hundred pounds, his share of the proceeds, to the Massachusetts colony, "to be laid out in cattle, and other course of trade, for the poor." The eight men of Plymouth, having made a scrupulously high valuation, on oath, of the effects in their hands, had not only been great losers, but considered themselves to have been

hardly treated. And the case turned out still worse than their fears, when, in consequence of the arrest of emigration, occasioned by the altered state of affairs in the parent country, the value of their salable property was excessively depressed. The price of a cow fell in a month from twenty pounds to five, and of a goat from three pounds to ten shillings; and the prospect was so dark, that thoughts of removal were again entertained, which probably nothing short of a local attachment, matured under the severest experiences, could have overcome.

And the strength of this sentiment was tried at the critical moment by an event, which, if suited to weaken it in one class of minds, would be likely to give it double force in another. "Their reverend elder," writes Bradford, "and my dear and loving friend, Mr. William Brewster," died; "a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus and the gospel's sake, and had done his part in weal and woe with this poor persecuted church, above thirty-six years, in England, Holland, and in this wilderness, and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling. And, notwithstanding the many troubles he passed through, the Lord upheld him to a great age. He was near fourscore years of age, if not all out, when he died. He had this blessing added by the Lord to all the rest, to die in his bed in peace, amongst the midst of his friends, who mourned and wept over him, and ministered what help and

1643. April 15.

comfort they could unto him, and he again recom forted them whilst he could. His sickness was not long, and till the last day thereof he did not wholly keep his bed. His speech continued till somewhat more than half a day, and then failed him; and about nine or ten o'clock that evening he died without any pangs at all. A few hours before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound sleep, without any pangs or gaspings; and so sweetly departed this life unto a better."

CHAPTER XV.

MASSACHUSETTS AND THE CONFEDERATION.

In Massachusetts, the thoughts of the freemen had not been engrossed by the pressing distractions of the troubled times through which they were passing. They still had attention to bestow on the wants of posterity; and no men better understood what were the essential conditions of the permanent well-being of a commonwealth. The seventh year since the transportation of the charter had just begun, when "the Court agreed to give four hundred pounds towards a school or college, whereof two hundred pounds to be paid the next year, and two hundred pounds when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building." That Massachusetts assembly over which Henry Vane presided has been said to be "the first body in which the people, by their representatives, ever gave their own money to found a place of education." Their college preceded the next oldest in British America (the College of William and Mary in Virginia) by more than fifty years. Provision had hardly been made for the first wants of life,—habitations, food, clothing, and churches. Walls, roads, and bridges were yet to be built. The power of Eng-

1636. Oct. 28.

land stood in attitude to strike. A desperate war with the natives had already begun, and the government was threatened with an Antinomian insurrection. Through and beyond these dark complications of the present, the New England founders looked to great necessities of future times, which could not be provided for too soon.

The appropriation was equivalent to the colony tax for a year. Regarded in that point of view, a million of dollars would at the present day inadequately represent it. Newtown was fixed upon for the site of the college, and a committee of seven Magistrates and six ministers, men of the first distinction in their respective classes, were directed "to take order" for it. The generous project engaged the sympathy of John Harvard, a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who, dying childless within a year after his arrival at Charlestown, bequeathed his library and "the half of his estate, which amounted to about seven hundred pounds, for the erecting of the college." In just gratitude, the Court ordered it to be called by his name. Newtown had just before received the name of Cambridge.

1637. Nov. 15.

Nov. 29.

1638. Sept. 14.

1639. March 13.

When the Indian war was over, and the movers of sedition had been quelled, everything within Massachusetts began to wear the aspect of a new prosperity. The vigor of the rulers had in England inspired confidence, and no fewer than three thousand settlers came over in three months.

1638

The government was indulgent as soon as it was safe; and the arms which had been taken from nearly a hundred excited persons were restored to as many of them as remained in the colony "carrying themselves peaceably." 1639. Nov. 5.

For the present, few occasions arose for any extraordinary legislation. A public registration of births, marriages, and deaths was established, as well as that excellent system of registration of deeds and of testamentary instruments, which has rendered the conveyance of property in New England so simple and so safe. Sept. 9. A rule was made for the publication of intentions of marriage. A post-office for foreign correspondence was set up. Nov. 5. "That abominable practice of drinking healths" was forbidden, under a penalty of twelve pence for each offence, as being "a mere useless ceremony," and "also an occasion of much waste of the good creatures, and of many other sins." Prohibitions, addressed to both possessor and purveyor, were aimed against "the excessive wearing of lace and other superfluities, tending to little use or benefit, but to the nourishing of pride and exhausting of men's estates, and also of evil example to others."

Since the restoration of Winthrop to the chief magistracy from the inferior place into which the democratic spasm had cast him, he had continued to be aided by his former counsellors. In each of these three years Dudley held the second office; and all of the former Assistants who remained in

the colony, except Dummer, retained their position in the government.

But the public confidence in Winthrop, so well merited and generally so constant, did not blind the electors to the danger of the precedent that might grow out of a too long continuance in office of one favorite public servant; and his second election after that when he succeeded Vane had not been carried with universal satisfaction. Another temporary cause of discontent with the existing administration was, that "the Court, finding the number of Deputies to be much increased by the number of new plantations, thought fit, for the use both of the country and the Court, to reduce all towns to two Deputies. This occasioned some to fear that the Magistrates intended to make themselves stronger and the Deputies weaker, and so in time to bring all power into the hands of the Magistrates." "By force of reason," the question about the number of Deputies was settled to the general satisfaction; and for forty years from this time there was a uniform delegation of two representatives from every town in the jurisdiction.

May 22.

After the third year of Winthrop's second period of service as Governor, the personal question relating to him was disposed of in the best way possible, as things stood, both for him and for the country. Dudley was elected in his place — "a man," says his magnanimous predecessor, "of approved wisdom and godliness, and

1640. May 13.

of much good service to the country; and therefore it was his due to share in such honor and benefit as the country had to bestow. The elders, being met at Boston about this matter, sent some of their company to acquaint the old Governor with their desire, and the reasons moving them, clearing themselves of all dislike of his government, and seriously professing their sincere affections and respect towards him, which he kindly and thankfully accepted." In the new election, he had the satisfaction of seeing still better evidence of the public approbation of that government of which he had been the head. It was no further changed than by the promotion of Dudley and Bellingham each one step in official station, while he himself took Bellingham's place as an Assistant.

In the second period of Winthrop's administration of the chief magistracy, yet another attempt had been made by the home government — the final one for the present — to get possession of the charter of Massachusetts. A "very strict order" came from the Commissioners of Plantations for its instant transmission to England. The General Court, after a pause of some months, "agreed that a letter should be written by the Governor in the name of the Court, to excuse our not sending of it; for it was resolved to be best not to send it, because then such of our friends and others in England would conceive it to be surrendered, and that thereupon we should

1638. Sept. 6.

be bound to receive such a Governor and such orders as should be sent to us, and many bad minds yea, and some weak ones, among ourselves would think it lawful, if not necessary, to accept a General Governor."

Winthrop's letter addressed to the Commissioners for Plantations, under this order, is a document worthy of all remembrance, as displaying the spirit and policy of the time. It begins with a refusal to transmit the patent, expressed in the form of a petition for a further consideration of the demand, and in the style of diplomatic courtesy appropriate to such communications. It declares, that, had notice been received of the prosecution under the *quo warranto*, there would have been "a sufficient plea to put in." The material part of the manifesto then follows: —

"It is not unknown to your Lordships, that we came into these remote parts with his Majesty's license and encouragement, under his great seal of England; and, in the confidence we had of the great assurance of his favor, we have transported our families and estates, and here have we built and planted, to the great enlargement and securing of his Majesty's dominions in these parts, so as, if our patent should be now taken from us, we should be scoffed at as runagates and outlaws, and shall be enforced either to remove to some other place, or to return to our native country again, either of which will put us to insuperable extremities; and these evils (among others) will necessarily follow: —

"1. Many thousand souls will be exposed to ruin, being laid open to the injuries of all men.

"2. If we be forced to desert the place, the rest of the plantations about us (being too weak to subsist alone) will, for the most part, dissolve and go along with us; and then will this whole country fall into the hands of French or Dutch, who would speedily embrace such an opportunity.

"3. If we should lose all our labor and cost, and be deprived of those liberties which his Majesty hath granted us, and nothing laid to our charge, nor any failing to be found in us in point of allegiance, (which all our countrymen do take notice of, and do justify our faithfulness in this behalf,) it will discourage all men hereafter from the like undertakings, upon confidence of his Majesty's royal grant.

"4. Lastly, if our patent be taken from us (whereby we suppose we may claim interest in his Majesty's favor and protection), the common people here will conceive that his Majesty hath cast them off, and that hereby they are freed from their allegiance and subjection, and thereupon will be ready to confederate themselves under a new government, for their necessary safety and subsistence, which will be of dangerous example unto other plantations, and perilous to ourselves of incurring his Majesty's displeasure, which we would by all means avoid."

Here, after a little more empty threatening from the Commissioners, the business slept for the pres-

ent. There was more serious matter for concern nearer home. The Scots were in arms. The historian Hutchinson thought, that, if the settlers in Massachusetts had now been pushed to extremity, it was "pretty certain the body of the people would have left the country," either betaking themselves to the Dutch on Hudson's River, or seeking some unoccupied spot out of the reach of any European power. But a combination with the Dutch, while it would have secured their liberty of worship, might not even have involved a necessity for their change of residence. As things stood, the great maritime power of the United Provinces, had it been engaged to come in aid of what the transplanted Englishmen could do for themselves, might fairly be supposed competent to protect them in their Massachusetts homes.

For a second time, Dudley served as Governor only one year. Richard Bellingham was
1641. chosen to be his successor, with Endicott for Deputy-Governor. The election of Bellingham, which was made by a majority of only six votes when there were some fourteen hundred voters, took the General Court by surprise, and was received by them with a displeasure which they testified promptly and significantly. The Governor was no sooner sworn in, than they passed a vote to repeal "the order formerly made for allowing a hundred pounds *per annum* for the Governor." This period of Bellingham's life was not the most creditable. He occasioned scandal by an

unsuitable matrimonial contract, by neglecting to have the banns published according to law, and by performing the marriage ceremony himself; and, when called to account before the Board of Magistrates, he indulged himself in disrespectful and disorderly behavior. The General Court "was full of uncomfortable agitations and contentions," by reason of his unfriendliness to "some other of the Magistrates." The candid Winthrop, who gives some instances of Bellingham's maladministration, found himself compelled to impute it to "an evil spirit of emulation and jealousy, through his melancholy disposition." Dudley's disgust was such that he could scarcely be prevailed upon not to withdraw from office. Perhaps it was with a view to provide some check to what was apprehended from his overbearing disposition, that an able man, John Humphrey, was advanced to the new trust of "Sergeant-Major General" of all the military force of the colony. Whenever the ship of state was laboring, the natural resource was to call Winthrop to the helm; and he was again made Governor at the end of Bellingham's year of office.

June 2.

1642.

At this time, "there arose a scruple about the oath which the Governor and the rest of the Magistrates were to take, viz: about the first part of it, 'you shall bear true faith and allegiance to our sovereign lord, King Charles,' seeing he had violated the privileges of Parliament, and made war upon them, and thereby had lost much of his king-

dom and many of his subjects; whereupon it was thought fit to omit that part of it for the present." And here was an end, for many years, to all public recognition of royal authority in Massachusetts.

The second year of Winthrop's third service in the chief magistracy of Massachusetts was signalized by the perfecting of the system of internal administration in two respects, and by the maturing of a measure which materially changed, and fixed for a long period, the relations of the colonies of New England to one another, and to the world abroad.

One of the improvements now made was the distribution of the towns of Massachusetts, thirty in number, into four counties, named, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Essex*, and *Middlesex*, from the English shires from which probably the greater number of immigrants had come. A framework for this organization already existed in the institution of Quarterly Courts held at four principal places, and in the organization of the military force into regiments according to a local division. The armed levy of each county was presently after placed under the command of a "Lieutenant," an officer corresponding to the Lord-Lieutenant of an English shire, and inferior only to the Governor and the Sergeant-Major General of the colony. In each county there was to be a Sergeant-Major, second in command to the Lieutenant.

1643. May 10.

Sept. 7.

The same year witnessed the adoption of that great security of constitutional governments, which

ate in the following century, was to be maintained by John Adams against the arguments of Turgot and the judgment of Franklin, and which now makes a part of the organic law of each one of the United States of America, as well as of the federal government that unites them. A division of the legislature into two coördinate branches terminated a controversy between the Magistrates and Deputies which had been running on for several years.

"There fell out a great business," writes Winthrop, "upon a very small occasion," which he proceeds to relate. "There was a stray sow in Boston, which was brought to Captain Keayne," a man of property and consequence, but unpopular for alleged hardness in his dealings. He advertised for its owner in vain, till after he had killed a pig of his own, which had been kept along with the stray. Then a woman named Sherman came to see it, and, not being able to identify it with one she had lost, alleged that the slaughtered pig was hers. A litigation followed, and parties became excited. A jury exonerated Captain Keayne, who turned on his prosecutor with a suit for defamation, in which also he prevailed. Mrs. Sherman appealed to the General Court. With the popular portion of that body, in which as yet Magistrates and Deputies sat and voted in the same chamber, the prejudices against Keayne had weight. Seven Magistrates with only eight Deputies voted in his favor, while fifteen Deputies sustained two Magistrates against him.

1636.

1642. June.

Thus a large majority of the superior officials was on one side, while in a joint vote the majority of the Court would be for the other. In circumstances which so enlisted a popular feeling, the fundamental question of the mutual relation of the two classes of representatives was brought up. The Magistrates published a *declaration* respecting it. The now factious Bellingham answered the declaration, and Winthrop replied to him. "It was the Magistrates' only care," he said, "to gain time, that so the people's heat might be abated, for then they knew they would hear reason." The event proved that their confidence was not misplaced. At the end of two years more the controversy was happily and wisely terminated. The people did hear reason; and, when the next action was had upon the subject, the negative vote was not "taken away," but duplicated. Without opposition, so far as is known, the following vote was passed by the General Court: —

1644. March 7.

"It is ordered, that the Magistrates may sit and act business by themselves, by drawing up bills and orders which they shall see good in their wisdom, which having agreed upon, they may present them to the Deputies to be considered of, how good and wholesome such orders are for the country, and accordingly to give their assent or dissent; the Deputies in like manner sitting apart by themselves, and consulting about such orders and laws as they in their discretion and experience shal. find meet for common good, which, agreed upon

by them, they may present to the Magistrates, who, according to their wisdom having seriously considered of them, may consent unto them or disallow them."

"This order," not by hurtfully withdrawing a power from the Magistrates, as had been attempted, but by beneficially conferring an equal power upon the Deputies, "determined the great contention about the negative voice," and completed the frame of the internal government of Massachusetts, destined to undergo no further organic change for forty years.

A measure of still greater moment had been consummated some months earlier. This was no less than a political confederation of the four principal colonies of New England.

This measure, the scheme of which had, perhaps, been derived from the Confederacy of the Low Countries, had been conceived several years before. Such of the reasons finally availing for its adoption, as seemed fit to be committed to a formal record, are set forth in the preamble to the Articles.

"Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace; — and whereas in our settling (by a wise providence of God) we are further dispersed upon the sea-coast and rivers than was at first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and

jurisdiction; — and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange lan guages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us, or our posterity; — and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolences and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us; — and seeing, by reason of those sad distractions in England which they have heard of, and by which they know we are hindered from that humble way of seeking advice, or reaping those comfortable fruits of protection which at other times we might well expect: — We therefore do conceive it to be our bounden duty without delay to enter into a present consociation among ourselves for mutual help and strength in all our future concernments; that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one."

Of the five specifications here made, it was the third particularly that expressed the original occasion of the movement. The "people of several nations and strange languages" were the French upon the eastern frontier of the English colonists, the Dutch upon the western, and the Swedes further south. Six years after the fall of Gustavus Adolphus on the field of Lützen, a small company of Swedes, following up a plan of colonization conceived by that prince, had come and settled on Delaware Bay. They were too distant and too few to be formidable to New England. The French did not seem likely for the

1638.

present to attempt the use of any force beyond what Massachusetts, which alone was exposed to it, was amply competent to cope with. But Connecticut and New Haven, from the first, had suffered annoyance from the Dutch settlement at the mouth of the Hudson.

Accordingly, the original movement towards a confederation came from the western colonies, and this harassing state of their relations with their Dutch neighbors is recorded as its cause. The first proposal had come from Connecticut, so early as before the planting of New Haven. It produced no result at the time. But, as the Dutchmen grew more encroaching, it was revived, and Haynes and Hooker "came into the Bay, and stayed near a month" to confer upon it.

1637. Aug. 31.

1639 May.

Hitherto, and for a considerable time later, Massachusetts seems to have been indifferent to the measure, — perhaps from unwillingness to be invested with a share in the joint administration equal only to that claimed by sister communities less populous and powerful. At length, her course in respect to it was changed. A concurrence of circumstances at that point of time deserves notice. "The propositions sent from Connecticut about a combination, etc., were read, and referred to a committee to consider of after the Court." The Court, "with advice of the elders," had just "ordered a general fast," of which the specified occasions were, "second, the danger of

1642. Sept. 27.

the Indians; third, the unseasonable weather;" but first and chiefly, "the ill news we had out of England concerning the breach between the King and Parliament." The war that had begun in the mother country in the previous month had been impending through all the summer. Puritanism and civil liberty were to try their issue at the sword's point against despotism and prelacy. If the right were doomed to be stricken down on the other side of the water, it would only the more need a refuge upon this; and, as long as the balance was trembling, the encouragement of friendship, though neither powerful nor near, might add a weight to determine which way it should incline. At all events, when tyrannical King and patriotic Parliament were in arms against each other, it was prudent for distant Englishmen to be likewise in panoply to meet all occasions; when their numbers were lessened by the drawing off of reinforcements to a remote field, it was wise in those who were left to fortify themselves with the strength of union; and he reads the avowed reasons for the New England Confederacy with superficial observation, who does not single out from the rest "those sad distractions in England" as having had a special efficacy in bringing about the measure.

1643. May 10. At the next General Court, commissioners from Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven presented themselves at Boston. The Governor, with two Magistrates and three Deputies, was authorized to treat on the part of Massachu-

setts. The deliberations issued in agreement upon twelve Articles, and created what, for important purposes, was for many years a Federal Government of the New England Colonies. Receiving at once the signatures of all the commissioners except those of Plymouth, who had not brought authority to sign, they were soon ratified by the government of that colony also. May 19. Aug. 29.

The settlements of Gorges, and the plantations about Narragansett Bay, were denied admission to the Confederacy. Neither had yet been able to institute a government, such as could be relied on for the fulfilment of the stipulations mutually made by the four colonies. The oath taken by the freemen of Rhode Island contained an engagement of fealty to the King; and Gorges, the proprietary of Maine, was in arms for him. It was by no influence proceeding from such sources that the objects of the Confederacy were to be carried out.

The confederation was no less than an act of absolute sovereignty on the part of the contracting States. The first two Articles bound together the four colonies and their dependencies, under the name of "*The United Colonies of New England*," in "a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor, upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare."

The third provided, that, for purposes of internal administration, each colony should retain its independence, and that no new member should be received into the league, nor any two present members be consolidated into one jurisdiction, without "consent of the rest."

By the fourth, levies of men, money, and supplies for war were to be assessed on the respective colonies, in proportion to the male population of each between the ages of sixteen and sixty, as ascertained by a census to be made from time to time for each colony by its Commissioners; and the spoils of war were to be distributed to the several colonies on the same principle.

According to the fifth, upon notice, by three Magistrates, of an existing invasion of any colony, the rest were forthwith to send it relief, — Massachusetts to the number of a hundred men, if so many were needed, and each of the others to the number of forty-five, "sufficiently armed and provided for such a service and journey." The nearest confederate alone was to be summoned, if the occasion required no more; and then the men were "to be victualled, and supplied with powder and shot for their journey (if there were need) by that jurisdiction which employed or sent for them." If more than the whole stipulated amount of aid was demanded, then the whole body of Commissioners was to be convened in order to a further enlistment should they see cause; or, if in their judgment the invaded colony was

in fault, then to condemn it to give satisfaction to the invader, and to defray the charges incurred. In the case of "danger of any invasion approaching," three Magistrates (or if in the threatened jurisdiction there were no more than three, then two) might summon a meeting of the Commissioners.

By the sixth, a board was constituted for the management of the business of the Confederacy, to consist of two Commissioners from each colony, all of them church-members, with power to "determine all affairs of war or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for war, division of spoils, and whatsoever was gotten by conquest, receiving of more confederates for plantations into combination with any of the confederates, and all things of like nature which were the proper concomitants or consequents of such a confederation for amity, offence, and defence." The concurrence of six Commissioners was to be conclusive; in fault of this, the matter was to be referred to the General Courts of the several colonies, and the concurrence of them all was to be binding. The Commissioners were to meet once a year, on the first Thursday of September, and as much oftener as occasion should require. The meetings, until some permanent place of meeting should be agreed upon, were to be held in succession at the principal towns of the colonies respectively except that two meetings out of five were to be at Boston.

The seventh authorized the Commissioners, or six of them, at each meeting, to choose a president from their own number, who was to be "invested with no power or respect," except "to take care and direct for order, and a comely carrying on of all proceedings."

The eighth directed the Commissioners to "endeavor to frame and establish agreements and orders, in general cases of a civil nature wherein all the plantations were interested, for preserving peace among themselves, and preventing, as much as might be, all occasions of war, or difference with others," as by the securing of justice to citizens of different jurisdictions, and a firm and equitable course of proceeding towards the Indians; and it stipulated the extradition of runaway servants and fugitives from justice.

By the ninth, the confederates mutually engaged themselves to abstain from all war not inevitable, and from all claim to reimbursement for military charges, except with the approbation of the Commissioners.

The tenth permitted a preliminary action by four Commissioners, in cases of exigency, when a larger number could not be convened.

The eleventh, in case of any breach of the terms of the alliance by any colony, invested the Commissioners of the other colonies with authority to determine the offence and the remedy.

And the twelfth was a ratification of the eleven preceding, which were to go into effect either with

or without the expected concurrence of Plymouth, whose representatives had brought "no commission to conclude."

Of this confederation, which "offers the first example of coalition in colonial story, and showed to party leaders in after-times the advantages of concert," it was not without apparent reason that the unfriendly historian Chalmers remarked, that its "principles were altogether those of independency, and it cannot easily be supported by any other." It had scarcely been formed when the English Parliament, turning its attention to the American colonies, and assuming the same authority over them that had been pretended by the King, instituted a commission for their government, consisting of six lords and twelve commoners, with the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Admiral, at its head. The commissioners were authorized "to provide for, order, and dispose all things which they should from time to time find most fit and advantageous to the well-governing, securing, strengthening, and preserving of the said plantations," and especially to appoint and remove "subordinate governors, counsellors, commanders, officers, and agents." The Ordinance of Parliament was too late for New England, if, indeed, it was intended for anything more than to provide for the suppression of the King's party in the other dependencies of the empire. The New England colonies had taken their affairs into their own hands. By the counsels of brave men, and

Nov. 2.

by the progress of events, a self-governing association of self-governing English commonwealths had been founded in America; and the manifestation which they had just now made of confidence in themselves and in one another may well have had its place, along with the sympathies which allied them to those who had come into power in the parent country, in preventing interference from abroad with the local administration.

BOOK II.

CONFEDERACY OF THE FOUR COLONIES.

CHAPTER I.

PRIMITIVE GOVERNMENT AND LAWS.

The league of the four colonies of New England lasted twenty years, and was, during that time, the predominant power in North America. When it was established, twenty-three years had passed since the landing of Englishmen at Plymouth, and thirteen years since a royal charter, transferred to the soil of Massachusetts, had there become the basis of a government. The institutions and the social condition of the colonies had taken a definite shape. It will be instructive here to pause, and observe what the founders had done towards realizing the purposes of their emigration, and what was that primitive system of society which was to influence the character and fortunes of the later generations of the people.

For the attainment of the objects contemplated by the first settlers, a political consolidation was desirable. But at first the tendency of things had

been in the opposite direction. Plymouth and Massachusetts were distinct communities from the beginning. Some of the best men of Massachusetts soon went away to found a separate community in Connecticut. Later companies of immigrants, instead of stopping in Massachusetts, as it was hoped they would do, sought homes at the west near to Hudson River. Independent plantations were made in New Hampshire and Maine. The isolation of the settlements at Providence and Rhode Island, though not without its advantages to the other colonies, took away from their numerical strength.

After a little time, however, this enfeebling tendency to dispersion had been checked and reversed. The scattered communities had been drawn together. What there was of New Hampshire was merged in Massachusetts. Though the little settlements further east — chiefly of West-of-England fishermen — were mostly inclined to a wild state of society, and at the same time to the cause of Church and King, one of them had yielded itself to the government of the leading Puritan colony, and others had solicited her patronage. The "Jurisdiction" of New Haven had been formed by a junction of distinct plantations, which, through a sufficient experiment of separate administration, had become satisfied that the great objects, common to all, could be best attained by joint counsels and united strength. Finally, the four principal colonies, each previously compacted in its own

way, had combined together, for mutual protection, in a league which in important respects constituted them one body politic.

At the time of their confederation, the population of the four colonies probably amounted to about twenty-four thousand souls, of which number fifteen thousand may be assigned to Massachusetts, three thousand each to Plymouth and Connecticut, and twenty-five hundred to New Haven. They had established governments and courts of justice, which were working well. They had organized and trained a military force. They had founded numerous churches, and furnished them with a pious and learned ministry. They had established schools and a college. They had fallen into methods of industry, which promised to themselves and their descendants a sufficiency of the means of living. And they had a fair prospect of continued tranquillity; for their friends at home were giving the King too much employment to allow him leisure to molest them, and the savages in their neighborhood they had partly intimidated, and partly won to friendship.

The governments of the several colonies were framed on the same general model. No one of them had definite reference to any superior authority in England. In all of them the freemen were the fountain of power. Suffrage was not universal; in every colony there were numbers of inhabitants who were not freemen. After a body of freemen had been once constituted, admissions

to it were accorded by the vote of those who were already comprehended in it. In Massachusetts and New Haven, the discretion of the freemen as to the admission of new associates was limited by a standing rule which excluded all but such as had been received into full communion with some church. Most church-members became also freemen, but not all; some forbore to seek the franchise, through unwillingness to become eligible to public office. In Plymouth and Connecticut, the franchise was conferred on inhabitants of the respective towns by the votes, or on the recommendation addressed to the General Court, of such as were already freemen or residents of the towns. But though church-membership was in neither of those colonies an essential legal qualification for citizenship, still, in them too, a religious character in the candidate, such as naturally led to church-membership, and was commonly found in union with it, was much regarded by the electors as a recommendation to their favor; and statutes of a later period, providing that a candidate must be of "a peaceable and honest conversation," and "orthodox in the fundamentals of religion," are naturally understood as formal enactments of what had been the primitive practice.

In all the confederate colonies elections of rulers were annual. In Massachusetts this arrangement was required by the charter; elsewhere it was dictated by the republican views of the freemen. Each colony had a *Governor*, whose power, though

not altogether the same in the different jurisdictions, was in all substantially identical with that of the other Magistrates, except in his being the organ of their will, and the moderator in public assemblies. All but Plymouth had a *Deputy-Governor*, to take the Governor's place when it became vacant during the official term, and to act meanwhile with those other dignified officials, who, under the name of *Assistants* in Plymouth and Massachusetts, and of *Magistrates* in the two western colonies, were associated with the Governor in the highest functions of administration. The central authority was also shared by the *Deputies*, who, however, in no colony constituted as yet a separate and coördinate branch of the government. While the superior functionaries were elected by the votes of the freemen of the whole colony, counted together, the Deputies were chosen for each town by a majority of its voters. Any freeman of the colony was eligible by a town to be its Deputy, without reference to his being an inhabitant of the town.

In Massachusetts, the Governor was remunerated for his service by special grants of the General Court, made from year to year; the Deputy-Governor and the Assistants, as well as the Deputies, received an allowance at a fixed rate for each day of their presence in the General Court, the latter paid sometimes by their towns, and sometimes from the colonial treasury. In Plymouth, the Magistrates, when on duty, had their living at the public

charge, without other compensation. Neither in Connecticut nor in New Haven does it appear that either Magistrates or Deputies received any regular stipend in the early times.

The public treasury of each colony was supplied by direct taxes upon the property of residents, whether freemen or not. There was as yet no capitation tax, excise, or duty on imported commodities.

The part in the general legislation which the towns took by their Deputies in the General Court, was not the chief of the functions that belonged to them. In the development of a system coeval with the settlement of the country, the whole inhabited territory of New England is laid off into towns. Every man in New England belongs to some town. Each town is a body politic, with an administration of its own, conducted by officers of its own choice, according to its will, except as that will is restrained within limits prescribed by the higher common authority. A town is in law a corporation, with rights and liabilities as such, capable of suing and subject to be sued in the courts, in disputes with any parties, individual or corporate. A town is obliged by law to protect health and quiet within its borders, by means of a police; to maintain safe and convenient communication about and through its precinct by roads and bridges; to furnish food, clothing, and shelter to its poor; and to provide for the instruction of all the children of its inhabitants, at the common charge. Besides

occasional meetings, the voters of a town come together once every year, to choose the administrators of its business, and determine the amount of money with which it will intrust them, and how this shall be raised. If a general tax is levied, the proportion assessed on each town is paid from the town treasury, the townsmen, by their assessors, distributing the burden of the payment among their own people. On matters of their own interest, the towns present their petitions, and, as to matters of general concern, they send their advice, to the central authorities. By their magistrates, they supervise the elections alike of municipal officers, and of all others designated by popular choice.

The experience of later times has dictated improvements of detail in the municipal system of New England, but its outline was complete when it was first devised. No *city* government was constituted in New England till more than a century and a half after the first settlement; none in Massachusetts till more than two hundred years. In law, a city is a town, the difference between them being only in internal administration; the former managing its affairs by representatives chosen by the citizens; the latter, by votes of the whole body of citizens in town meeting.

At the epoch of the confederation there were forty-nine towns in the four colonies, of which number Plymouth had eight, Massachusetts thirty, Connecticut (including Saybrook) six, and New Haven five. The institution of towns had its

origin in Massachusetts, and was borrowed thence by the other governments. Almost from the beginning, each town had the following civil officers, chosen by its own freemen; namely, a board of Selectmen, varying in number from three to nine; a Clerk; a Treasurer; a Sealer of Weights and Measures; one or more Surveyors of Highways; and one or more Tithing-men. Meanwhile the persons exercising ecclesiastical functions were officers of the same community, elected by substantially the same body of constituents; for wherever there was a town, there was, or should be, a church, and voters in church meetings and in town meetings were the same persons.

In the beginning of the colonies, judicial authority was exercised by the whole body of the freemen, and by the central board of Magistrates. When the settlements of Plymouth began to extend, "two sufficient men, one of Yarmouth and another of Barnstable," were empowered, in association with an Assistant, to decide "controversies, not exceeding three pounds." The institution was copied in Connecticut and in New Haven. Massachusetts early established "Inferior Courts," consisting each of five judges; one at least being a Magistrate resident within the jurisdiction of his court, the others being persons appointed by the General Court from a list nominated by the freemen of the towns within the circuit. These courts had jurisdiction in civil causes to the amount of ten pounds, and in "criminal causes, not concerning life, member

or banishment." "Town Courts," or "courts to order small causes," disposed of questions involving an amount not exceeding twenty shillings. "Merchants' or Strangers' Courts," invested with all the power of the bench of Magistrates, might be held by the Governor or Deputy-Governor, with two Assistants, for the accommodation of persons who desired to avoid being detained in the country. By an amendment of the original system, Inferior Courts obtained jurisdiction in cases of divorce and of probate of wills. Appeals lay from the Town Courts to the Inferior Courts; from the latter to the Court of Assistants; and from the Court of Assistants to the General Court. The General Court alone possessed the pardoning power. It was the tribunal of final jurisdiction. There was no recognized method of appeal from it to the King in Council, to a commission for the colonies, or to any other authority beyond sea.

In all the colonies, the Assistants or Magistrates exercised the functions of Justices of the Peace. Constables, in the early times, were selected from among men of property and consequence. They were appointed annually, at first by the General Court, afterwards by the towns. New Haven could find nothing of juries in the Old Testament. The three other colonies had both petit juries and juries of inquest. There were no professional advocates. A prisoner or suitor might argue his own cause, or a friend might appear in his behalf. Processes had a general conformity to those of the

Common Law. In taking an oath, the witness lifted his right hand. The English ceremony of kissing the book was rejected as idolatrous.

The earliest colonial code of statutes was that of Plymouth. Established when the colony had existed sixteen years, it was not framed upon any theory of conformity to the Jewish law, or to the law of England, but consisted of such provisions as, on general principles of jurisprudence, and with the experience which had been obtained, appeared suitable to secure the well-being of the little community It allowed authority to such laws only as were enacted by the body of the freemen, or by their representatives legally assembled. It recognized eight capital offences, and made other crimes punishable at the discretion of the Magistrates. In transfers of real estate, it required acknowledgment before a Magistrate, and a public record. Widows were to have a third part of the personal property of the deceased husband, and the usufruct of a third part of his real estate. Marriages, when parents refused their sanction, might be contracted "with the consent of the Governor, or some Assistant, to whom the persons were known." Every resident was to provide himself with certain arms and accoutrements. The retail sale of liquors, except in private houses, was forbidden. A few other simple regulations, among which were some relating to the distribution of lands and to trespasses of domestic animals, made a body of law sufficient for the present needs of the orderly peo-

ple of Plymouth. In the next eight years a very few enactments were added, of which the most important related to military organization and supplies, and to settling the powers and liabilities of towns.

In Massachusetts, for more than ten years, the administration of justice was without the security either of a system of statutes, or of any recognition of the authority of the Common Law. The law dispensed by the Magistrates was no other than equity, as its principles and rules existed in their own reason and conscience, instructed by Scripture. The people continued to be solicitous for the safeguard of a written code; the leaders still felt the force of reasons for obstructing that wish. The difference led to a long struggle, which, however, was conducted without acrimony. At length, by the course of time and of events, the grounds of objection were mainly removed. On the one hand, the characteristics of a useful jurisprudence had disclosed themselves in the experience of several years; and on the other hand, Parliament was rising to power in England, and in Massachusetts the fear of impending hostility from that quarter was dying away.

While the question was pending, Cotton had prepared a small volume, which was printed in England, with the incongruous title, "An Abstract of the Laws of New England, as they are now established." It never was approved by the General Court, nor obtained any authority. Nathaniel

Ward, of Ipswich, of which town he had formerly been minister for a short time, was more than any other man the legislator of primitive Massachu-

1641. Dec. setts. The General Court, apparently by a unanimous vote, established a code of fundamental laws, prepared by Ward, under the name of *The Body of Liberties.*

Ward had been a minister in England, before his emigration; earlier yet, he had studied and practised in the Common Law courts. The contents of the *Body of Liberties* are digested in a hundred sections. The first paragraph, constituting a Bill of Rights, is as follows: —

"No man's life shall be taken away; no man's honor or good name shall be stained; no man's person shall be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, nor any ways punished; no man shall be deprived of his wife or children; no man's goods or estates shall be taken away, nor any way endangered, under color of law, or countenance of authority, unless it be by virtue or equity of some express law of the country warranting the same, established by the General Court and sufficiently published, or, in case of the defect of the law in any particular case, by the word of God, and in capital cases, or in cases concerning dismemberment or banishment, according to that word to be judged by the General Court."

The code goes on to prescribe general rules of judicial proceeding; to define the privileges and duties of freemen; to provide for justice to women,

children, servants, and foreigners, and for humane treatment of the brute creation; to declare capital offences, twelve in number; and to describe the liberties and prerogatives of the churches.

In the promulgation of the principle that life, liberty, or property was not to be invaded except by virtue of express law established by the local authority, a step was taken than which none could be more important towards creating a commonwealth at once prosperous and independent. The government constituted by the charter of the Massachusetts Company was forbidden, by a provision of that instrument, to make laws repugnant to the laws of England. Ward's formula gave distinct utterance to the doctrine that English law had in Massachusetts no other than this restrictive force, and that within the limit so prescribed she was competent to build up such a system of jurisprudence as her condition might seem to herself to require. As long as that principle was observed in practice, the King could touch no man within her territory. It was almost a Declaration of Independence.

In respect to the penalty of death, Ward and his associates had tender scruples; and in the Body of Liberties the laws for inflicting it, unlike the rest, are sustained by references to Scripture. Yet in its list of capital crimes, that code did not adopt the whole system of Moses; it did not include among them the striking or reviling of parents, or the breaking of the Sabbath. The English law

of the time denounced capital punishment against more than thirty offences. The Body of Liberties reduced the number to ten. It borrowed from the Mosaic law some of its provisions respecting inheritance and servitude. Thus it gave a twofold share of the estate of an intestate parent to the oldest son, and secured to servants humane treatment during the time of their bondage, and an adequate temporary provision when it expired. One feature of the law of servitude deserves especial mention. The child of slaves was as free as any other child. No person was ever legally held to servitude in Massachusetts as being the offspring of a slave mother.

The first code of law adopted in Connecticut related only to capital offences. Established a year later than the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, it is in great part a verbal copy from that instrument. Neither before, nor for several years after, the confederation of the colonies, had New Haven any body of statutes. During this time the courts were guided in their decisions by what, in their apprehension, were the rules of equity and Scripture. The popular story of the "Blue Laws" of New Haven is without foundation in fact. It was the fabrication of a dishonest writer of the period of the War of Independence.

1642. Dec.

After the example of the mother country, orders were made in all the colonies for the regulation of the prices of commodities and of labor. Experience proved the futility of such legislation, and in

due time it was abandoned. The less objectionable enactments, aimed at the restraint of extravagance in dress, were also no inventions of New England or of Puritanism. They had precedents in the earlier history of England. Not only the support of the ministrations of religion, but personal attendance upon them, was enforced by law. So it was in Virginia, and so it was in England. In all Christian countries it was understood to belong to the rightful province of law to control the individual, not only for his neighbor's protection, but for his own well-being and improvement. But if the New England founders had not received that theory, probably they would have originated it. The people of that region in modern times have supposed it to be no invasion of the citizen's liberty to require him to submit his children to instruction in reading, writing, and accounts, to the end that they may not grow up to be incapable and shiftless, troublesome and chargeable. On similar grounds the fathers considered it to be alike conducive to the public good and unobjectionable to the individual, that he should be saved from the misery to himself and the mischievousness to his neighbors of ignorance respecting morals and religion. Their political foresight enforced such a policy. For a godless population is a population ungovernable except by a despotism. To be capable of lasting liberty, a people must be religious. It is vital to free government, that they who are to sustain and enjoy it should have a sense of the government of

God. If neither devout worshippers nor virtuous citizens can be made by law, it by no means follows that the law can do nothing, or can do nothing without countervailing disadvantages, towards bringing the citizen within the reach of influences helpful to his becoming devout and virtuous.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION, EDUCATION, AND SOCIAL LIFE.

The religious objects of the colonists claimed their immediate attention. The planters at Plymouth had no new scheme of church order to devise. Theirs was the scheme of the English Independents, already put in practice and amended by themselves in Europe. It was introduced into Massachusetts by the congregation of Skelton and Higginson, was adopted by the companies who joined them in the following year, and was carried to Connecticut and New Haven by the founders of those colonies. A church was a company of believers, associated together by a mutual covenant to maintain and share Christian worship and ordinances, and to watch over each other's spiritual condition. A church, it was held, "ought not to be of greater number than might ordinarily meet together conveniently in one place, nor ordinarily fewer than might conveniently carry on church work." Persons so pledged and associated were church-members; and they, and no others, were entitled to come to the Lord's Supper, and to present their children for baptism. Each church was an independent body, competent to elect and

ordain its officers, to admit, govern, censure, and expel its members, and to do all other things properly pertaining to ecclesiastical order. A church fully furnished had a Pastor and a Teacher, both of whom preached and administered the ordinances, while the distinctive function of the former was to exhort in public and private, of the latter to enforce doctrine and interpret Scripture. Each church had also one or more "ruling elders," who shared with the "teaching elders" the office of discipline, and deacons, who had the charge of prudential concerns and of providing for the poor. But the office of ruling elder was not uniformly kept up; the office of Pastor was not long discriminated from that of Teacher; and the practice of maintaining two teaching elders in each church, often departed from in the early times, went by degrees into general disuse.

At the time of the confederation there were nearly eighty teaching elders in the colonies; that is, one minister to about three hundred of the population. These were generally men who had been reared in the best education of the time. As many as one half of the number are known to have been graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, the greater part being of the latter university. Not seldom they were men of good property. Some were held in the greater consideration on account of their being highly connected. At first, ministers were provided for by voluntary contributions, made every Sunday; but soon "the churches held a differen

course in raising the ministers' maintenance; some did it by way of taxation."

A church officer, of whatever degree, was an officer only of his own church. According to the primitive doctrine and practice of New England, no man was a clergyman in any sense, either before his election by a particular church, or after his relinquishment of the special trust so conferred; and, even while in office, he was a layman to all the world except his own congregation, and was not competent to exercise any clerical function elsewhere. In the earliest times, a minister was ordained, not by other ministers, but by officers of the church which had elected him, or, when it had no officers, then by some of its private members. It has been seen how, in Massachusetts, the practical exigencies presented themselves which induced great practical deviations from this principle of mutual independence of the churches. As soon as, for supposed reasons of public necessity, church-membership and political power were combined in the same persons, and ministers, by receiving to the communion, might substantially confer the franchise, the character of ministers and the action of churches came vitally to concern the public; and thus Church and State became intimately connected. In Massachusetts and New Haven, a meeting of the whole body of freemen in a General Court was composed of the same class of persons as a convention of members of all the churches. In the General Courts of Magistrates, or of Magistrates

and Deputies, none but church-members could sit, or have a voice in choosing others to sit. So that when either sort of General Court took cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs, it was but the whole body of the church legislating for its parts, and this with the important peculiarity, that all the legislators by whom the church exercised its supreme power were laymen. In Plymouth and Connecticut, where the association between church-membership and citizenship was not determined by law, there was less action of the government upon ecclesiastical affairs.

The place for public worship was the *meeting-house*, where assemblies for transacting the town's business were also held. Men and women sat apart on their respective sides of the house, while boys had a place separate from both, with a tithing-man to keep them in order. The men, or such portion of them as was from time to time thought sufficient, were required to come completely armed. Two services were held on each Sunday, both by daylight. They consisted of extemporaneous prayers, singing of the Psalms in a metrical version, without instrumental accompaniment, and a sermon, of which the approved length was an hour, measured by an hour-glass, which stood upon the pulpit. The public reading of the Bible, without exposition, was generally disapproved, being regarded as an unbecoming conformity to the hierarchical service, and qualified by the opprobrious name of *dumb reading*. Children were baptized in the meeting-houses, generally on the next Sun-

day after their birth. Communicants sat while receiving the consecrated elements. Ministers did not officiate at marriages; the contract was made before a Magistrate. No religious service took place at the burial of the dead.

Of periodical holy-days, none was recognized but the first day of the week. Every kind of recreation on that day was forbidden, as well as every kind of labor. In some principal places a lecture was regularly preached on some secular day of every week. Christmas, Good-Friday, Easter, and other periodical festivals and fast-days of the Church, were scrupulously disregarded and discountenanced. The use of the word *Saint*, in connection even with the names of apostles and evangelists, was esteemed an impropriety.

After liberty, religion, and social order, learning was the object nearest to the hearts of the fathers of New England. Some of the immigrants — some of the ministers especially — possessed valuable collections of books. Nine years after the arrival of Winthrop's company, a printing-press was set up at Cambridge. In the earliest times, it is probable that children were instructed only at their homes. Boston had a public school as early as the fifth year from its settlement. New Haven, in its fourth year, set up a free school to be maintained "out of the common stock of the town." Hartford had made similar provision still earlier. A very few years only were to pass, before, in every town

1639. 1635. 1642. 1639.

of Massachusetts, the means of useful instruction were provided by law for every child.

In the summer before the confederation of the colonies, the first *Commencement* of Harvard College was held. Nine young men, having been four years under its tuition, were then admitted to the first academical degree, and "performed their acts so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts." The course of study had been adopted from the contemporaneous usage of the English universities. The beginning of the institution was not auspicious, by reason of the misconduct of Nathaniel Eaton, the person first placed at its head. But he was soon deposed; and his successor, the learned and excellent Dunster, inaugurated a new era of prosperity. Dunster had been educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and had afterwards been a Non-conformist minister in England. Under his administration Harvard College acquired such repute, that, in several instances, youth of opulent families in the parent country were sent over for their education. 1642.

The military force of the colonies was a militia, which, in the early period, consisted of infantry alone, except that there were a few cannoneers in the forts. Against the natives field-artillery would have been of little use; nor could it have been worked to advantage, while the country was wild. All males between the ages of sixteen and sixty were enrolled, and were required to be provided

with arms and ammunition; at their own expense, if they had the means; if not, at the expense of their towns. The arms of private soldiers were pikes, muskets, and swords. The muskets had matchlocks or flintlocks, and to each one there was "a pair of bandoleers, or pouches, for powder and bullets," and a stick called a *rest*, for use in taking aim. The pikes were ten feet in length, besides the spear at the end. For defensive armor corselets were worn, and coats quilted with cotton. It does not appear that there was any attempt at uniformity in dress.

The *unit* of the organization was the trainband, consisting of not fewer than fifty-four men, and not more than two hundred. It had twice as many musketeers as pikemen, the latter being selected for their superior stature. The commissioned officers of a band were a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign. They carried swords, partisans, otherwise called leading-staves, and (if they chose) pistols. The sergeants bore halberds. Company trainings took place, at first, every Saturday; then, every month; then, eight times a year. They were begun and closed with prayer. The only martial music was that of the drum.

In the year after the confederation, Massachusetts had twenty-six trainbands, and "a very gallant horse troop." The bands were distributed into regiments; a lieutenant, and under him a sergeant-major, commanded the regiment of each county; and over the whole force of the colony

was a Sergeant-Major General, subordinate only to the Governor.

Industry had now taken the forms which are common in a settled social state. Agriculture, though never a lucrative employment in the greater part of New England, yielded returns sufficient to constitute an important resource for a people so isolated from more fertile regions. To the invaluable maize, or Indian-corn, — nutritious, hardy, and of a bountiful increase, — the planters soon reconciled themselves as a substitute for wheat, to which the soil and temperature were less propitious. The native grasses were coarse and innutritive; but it took only a few seasons to cover the champaign lands with a rich growth of the herbage of England. Barley, rye, oats, and pease were successfully cultivated, and most of the garden fruits and vegetables common in the mother country. Squashes, pumpkins, and beans were indigenous to the soil. The apple, the pear, the cherry, the plum, and the quince were found to take kindly to their new home. Poultry and swine, while they were fed at little cost, multiplied in great abundance; and as pasturage was extended and improved, goats in the first place, and then sheep, horses, and neat cattle became numerous.

Manufactures of necessary articles were early undertaken with some success. Before the confederation, the spinning and knitting of thread and yarn by the women at their homes was fol-
1638. lowed by the weaving of woollen and cottor

fabrics, introduced by a few families who came from Yorkshire, and built up a town at Rowley, adjoining Ipswich. At first this manufacture was stimulated by protective laws, which soon however were found to be unnecessary, and were repealed, so remunerative had the business become. The great demand for salt was promptly and profitably met, so easy was the process of obtaining it from sea-water. In the third year after Winthrop's arrival, water-mills were erected in Plymouth and in Massachusetts. Windmills had been in earlier use. From the beginning of the settlements there was ample employment and good pay for the brickmaker, the mason, the carpenter, the tanner, the currier, the cordwainer, the sawyer, and the smith.

The woods were a source of wealth. Boards, clapboards, shingles, and staves and hoops for barrels, cost nothing but labor, and commanded a ready sale. The pine forests yielded turpentine, pitch, and tar. Furs and peltry, obtained from the natives by barter for provisions and for articles of foreign manufacture, were yet another rich resource for the export trade.

Along the seaboard of New England, as fast as it was occupied by settlers, one of the chief employments was fishing, especially the taking of the cod and the mackerel. A hogshead of mackerel was worth three pounds and twelve shillings, and three men in a boat could catch ten hogsheads in a week. In the second year before the confeder

ation, the mariners of Massachusetts "followed the fishing so well, that there was above three hundred thousand dry fish sent to the market."

Fishing led to ship-building. In the second year after Winthrop's arrival a vessel of a hundred tons' burden, and in the next year another of double that measurement, were launched on Mystic River. Hugh Peter, who had energy for thrift and for business as well as for politics and religion, "procured some to join for building a ship at Salem of three hundred tons." The year before the confederation, a writer in Boston informed his English friends: "Besides many boats, shallops, hoys, lighters, pinnaces, we are in a way of building ships of a hundred, two hundred, three hundred, four hundred tons. Five of them are already at sea; many more in hand at this present; we being much encouraged herein by reason of the plenty and excellence of our timber for that purpose, and seeing all the materials will be had there in short time."

1640.

Coasting voyages to the Dutch settlement on Hudson's River, and to the English in Virginia, were soon succeeded by adventures in foreign commerce. In the sixth year of Boston, a vessel built there "came from Bermuda with thirty thousand weight of potatoes, and store of oranges and limes." Then cotton was brought from the West Indies, to the great satisfaction of the spinners and weavers at Rowley. In the year of the confederation, ships built in Massachusetts carried "many passengers

and great store of beaver" to London, being followed on their way by "many prayers of the churches." In the next year, a Boston vessel brought wine, fruit, sugar, and ginger from Teneriffe, in exchange for corn; and the *Trial* carried from Boston a freight of fish to Bilbao, and came home from Malaga, "laden with wine, fruit, oil, iron, and wool, which was of great advantage to the country, and gave encouragement to trade."

Trade was embarrassed for a time by the insufficient supply of a circulating medium. The settlers brought over a considerable amount of coin, but most of it soon went back to England in payment for supplies. The first trading with the natives was by barter, to which, more or less, the use of *wampum* succeeded. Indian-corn and beaver had to take the place of money; and corn, at the market price, was in Massachusetts made a legal tender, except in cases where there had been an express stipulation to pay coin or beaver. Corn and other produce, at prescribed rates, were received in payment of the public taxes. At one time bullets were made a legal tender, as the equivalent of farthings.

From the outset the towns put themselves to a liberal expense for roads. Ferries were early established, and bridges thrown over narrow streams. Of course, the means of convenient communication between the settlements had to be gradually created; but, on the whole, the inquirer is surprised to find how rapidly they grew. Added to

the craving for companionship, there was a conscientious sense of the obligation of mutual counsel and mutual defence, to be secured only by facilities for travel.

The architecture of public buildings was altogether unambitious. We have a partial description of the primitive meeting-house of Dedham, which was the first or second inland town of Massachusetts. This place of worship, for a town founded under highly favorable auspices, was thirty-six feet long, twenty feet wide, and twelve feet high "in the stud;" and the roof was thatched with long grass. It may be thought singular that we have no positive knowledge respecting the construction of the dwellings of the generality of the settlers. It is probable, but not certain, that they first erected log-houses, like those commonly used, at the present day, in the new settlements of America. At all events, they at an early period allowed themselves to gratify, in full proportion to their means, that taste for comfortable habitations which they had brought with them, so intimately associated with the English feeling for home. Frame-houses, with brick chimneys, and lathed and plastered within, very soon superseded, in common use, the rude shelters which had at first sufficed. Nor were there wanting mansions of more pretension. At the early time when Coddington went from Boston to found his colony, he had already built there a brick house, which, when old, he still remembered as a token of his departed magnificence. The New

Haven people were thought to have "laid out too much of their stocks and estates in building of fine and stately houses;" and Isaac Allerton, who went among them from Plymouth, "built a grand house on the creek, with four porches." The house of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield, the first minister of Guilford, remains almost unaltered, to attest the resources and taste of its proprietor. When Gorton and his company were conducted to Boston, "the Governor [Winthrop] caused the prisoners to be brought before him in his hall, where was a great assembly." 1643.

Nor were the furniture and other appointments of rich men's dwellings deficient in a corresponding luxury. There is an inventory of the property of the third wife of John Winthrop, — a widow when she married him, — which indicates a sumptuous domestic establishment. At Governor Eaton's death, when money was worth three times as much as now, his wearing apparel was appraised at fifty pounds sterling, and his plate at a hundred and fifty pounds; and "Turkey carpet," "cushions of Turkey work," and "tapestry coverings," were among the articles of show which had helped him to maintain "a port in some measure answerable to his place." In the early inventories of furniture, no forks appear; but, as a fact correlative to this, there was a great affluence of napery. Such laws as have been referred to, prohibiting extravagance in personal adornment, point to one form of the taste and ambition of that period. But the

dress of the generality of the people must needs have been plain. The supply of homespun woolien cloth and "linen fustian dimities" was not abundant, and some use was made of "cordovan, deer, seal, and moose skins . . . . . especially for servants' clothing."

As to diet, the necessity for a multiplication of flocks for wool, and of herds for draught and for milk, forbade a free consumption of butcher's meat in New England in the primitive age. Game and fish supplied, to a considerable extent, the want of animal food. Swine and poultry were in common use earlier than other kinds of flesh-meat. In the earliest time, wheaten bread was not so uncommon as it afterwards became; but various preparations of Indian-corn came immediately into use. *Brown bread*, a mixture of two parts of the meal of this grain with one part of rye, has continued, until far into the present century, to be the bread of the great body of the people. *Hasty pudding*, consisting of the boiled meal of this grain or of rye, and eaten with molasses and butter or milk, was a common article of diet. *Succotash*, composed of beans boiled with Indian-corn in the milk, was a dish adopted from the natives, as were other preparations of corn, named *samp* and *hominy*. Indian-corn meal, boiled or baked, and sweetened with molasses, as soon as molasses began to come from the West Indies to Boston, was *Indian pudding* in its primitive condition. The dish called *baked beans* commemorates the time when it was worth

while to make the most of the commonest vegetable, by flavoring it with the flesh of the commonest animal. For considerably more than a century the people of New England, ignorant of tea and coffee, made their morning and evening repast on boiled Indian meal and milk, or on porridge or broth, made of pease or beans, and seasoned by being boiled with salted beef or pork. The regular dinner on Saturdays (not on Fridays, which would have been Popish) was of salted codfish; and so tenacious are such customs, that down to a time very recent, at ceremonious feasts in Boston on Saturdays, the dunfish, boiled between two others for the greater delicacy, never failed to appear at one end of the table. Beer, which was brewed in families, was accounted scarcely less than a necessary of life, and the orchards soon yielded a bountiful provision of cider. Wine and rum found a ready market, as soon as foreign voyages supplied them. Tobacco and legislation had a resolute conflict, in which the latter at last gave way.

Some accessories of social intercourse, elsewhere relished, were here abjured. The sad experience of his native country had taught the fugitive Puritan a lesson which he laid religiously to heart, if he misconceived or went beyond it in some particulars. All persons were forbidden so much as to possess cards, dice, or other instruments of gaming. Dancing was prohibited, not only as inconsistent with dignity of character, but because of its being

attended with provocatives to licentiousness. From the absence of instruments of music from the inventories, it is unavoidable to infer either that the art was not much relished, or that the practice of it was not approved.

There was great punctiliousness in the application of both official and conventional titles. Only a small number of persons of the best condition (always including ministers and their wives) had the designation *Mr.* or *Mrs.* prefixed to their names. *Goodman* and *goodwife* were the appropriate addresses of persons above the condition of servitude, and below that of gentility. Most of the Deputies are designated in the records by their names only, without a prefix, unless they were deacons of the church or officers in the militia, in which latter case they received the title of their rank, in all the degrees from general to corporal.

The language written and spoken by the early colonists could be no other than the language which they had been accustomed to hear and use; and that was the common English of the realm, with such provincial peculiarities as belonged to the places of their English homes, and with the conventional phraseology of their religious sect. As to not a few words and phrases which have been supposed to be of New England origin, because, when the comparison came to be made, they were not current in the mother country, it is certain that at the time of the emigration they belonged to the staple of the English tongue, and

nave been preserved in New England, while they have gone into disuse on the other side of the water. The vocal utterance of the New-Englander is criticised for an ungraceful nasal peculiarity. Perhaps this is an effect of climate. Probably i is one of his Puritan heirlooms.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST PERIOD OF THE CONFEDERACY.

The first year of the great civil war in England had just expired, when the first meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies was held at Boston. Several important subjects were ready for their consideration. One was an alarm from the Narragansett Indians.

1643. Sept. 7.

After the overthrow of the Pequots, the Narragansetts were the most powerful of the native tribes near to the colonies; and next to them in numbers and strength were the Mohegans, whose hunting-grounds were further to the west, towards the River Connecticut. Canonicus and his nephew Miantonomo were the Narragansett chiefs. Their relations with the colonists cannot be said to have been hitherto on the whole unfriendly, though Canonicus at an early period had sent a threatening message to Plymouth, and the conduct of Miantonomo had sometimes occasioned uneasiness at Boston. Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, was on amicable terms with the planters on Connecticut River. Jealous of each other's power, the Narragansetts and Mohegans were always on the verge of a conflict.

Three years before the confederation, a report had come to Massachusetts that Miantonomo was treating with the Mohawks with a view to a joint attack upon the English settlements. Conferences held with him in his own country, and afterwards at Boston, afforded but partial satisfaction. Two years more had passed of suspicious amity, when the alarm was renewed. Friendly Indians gave information at New Haven and at Hartford that Miantonomo had planned a general massacre of the English. The two western colonies would have immediately gone to war with him, and solicited Masssachusetts to join them in it with a large force. But that colony, less exposed and more calm, held back from so critical a step.

1640. June.

1642. Sept.

Miantonomo was sent for, and came to Boston. He denied the imputed conspiracy, alleging it to be a calumny of Uncas. The charge did not seem to the Magistrates to be made out; but he had scarcely been dismissed when urgent letters came from Connecticut, and others from Plymouth, insisting upon the reality of the plot, and the necessity of immediate measures of counteraction. On his way home, Miantonomo killed one of his attendants, whom, for participation in an attempt to assassinate Uncas, he had engaged to surrender to that chief. This was interpreted as a precaution on his part against further discoveries. But the Magistrates of Massachusetts were still unconvinced of the necessity for war, and repeated to

the other colonies their advice to practise longer forbearance.

A new occasion of disquiet arose out of a connection formed by Miantonomo with some disaffected English borderers. One of the quarrels so frequently occurring in the Narragansett plantations, had lately taken place at Providence. A party of the associates of Roger Williams had established themselves on the west side of Narragansett Bay, north of the River Pawtuxet, and were there so incommoded by some lawless persons who came and sat down among them, that, for want of any nearer authority competent to give them redress, they were fain to apply themselves to that of Massachusetts Bay. In a petition to the Magistrates of that colony, they professed to give "true in-
1641. Nov. 17. telligence of the insolent and riotous carriages of Samuel Gorton and his company, which came from the island of Aquetnet, together with John Greene and Francis Weston." The petition, signed by thirteen persons, complained of various acts of violence and disorder on the part of the unmannerly intruders, and concluded by entreating the Massachusetts people, "of gentle courtesy, and for the preservation of humanity and mankind," to "lend a neighbor-like helping hand," and abate the nuisance. They received for answer, that, while they belonged to no recognized jurisdiction, no government was authorized to interfere in their behalf If they chose to attach themselves to Massachusetts or to Plymouth, the case would be different.

Of the four disturbers complained of by name in the petition, three were afterwards especially conspicuous in a long series of events. Randall Holden had been one of the original confederates with Coddington, and then one of those who helped to displace him from the government of Portsmouth. John Greene had been at Providence almost from its beginning. On a visit to Boston, he had been fined twenty pounds for seditious discourse, and had been sent away, with an injunction to keep away for the future. Samuel Gorton had come from England to Boston during the Antinomian controversy, and thence had passed to Plymouth. Here, quarrelling with the minister, and reviling the Magistrates, he was punished with fine and banishment. He withdrew to the new settlement on Rhode Island, busied himself in the movement there for the deposition of Coddington, and for his part in a later dispute was sentenced by the court to be whipped. Next he turned up at Providence, for the annoyance of Williams and his friends.

1637. Sept. 19.

1638. Dec.

1640 or 1641.

The petitioners for protection against these troublesome interlopers took the hint which had been given them. At their request they were received under the government of Massachusetts, and the Magistrates of that colony sent word to Gorton and his party that they must desist from violent proceedings, but should have in the colonial courts a fair trial of any claim which they

1642. Oct. 28.

asserted. This was a month after that visit of Miantonomo to Boston, which was last mentioned.

To this message a long answer was returned, composed in the most ambitious style of insulting invective and menace. The writers, judging it not prudent to await, so near at hand, the rebound of their defiance, removed to the southern side of the River Pawtuxet, where, at a place called Shawomet, they bought lands of Miantonomo.

Nov. 20.

1643. Jan. 12.

The right of Miantonomo to dispose of the tract then came into question. Pomham, a petty chief whose followers dwelt upon it, declared that the land belonged to him, and that he was not Miantonomo's vassal. Saconoonoco, another sachem of Pawtuxet, made for himself the same pretension of independence, and the two chiefs came to Boston, where they asked to submit themselves and their lands to the government and the protection of Massachusetts. Their interpreter was Benedict Arnold, of Providence, one of the recent petitioners for protection against the misconduct of Gorton and his companions.

May.

A sense of interest as well as of justice made it the policy of Massachusetts to protect the Indians in their property, for trickery or roughness towards them on the part of any of the white race would provoke an undiscriminating resentment towards all. The Magistrates wrote "to Gorton and his company, to let them know what the sachems had

complained of, and how they had tendered themselves to come under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and therefore, if they had anything to allege against it, they should come or send to the next Court." To this communication no reply was made. Miantonomo was summoned to Boston, and "being demanded, in open Court, before divers of his own men and other Indians, whether he had any interest in the said two sachems as his subjects, he could prove none." The arrangements of Massachusetts with the two sachems for accepting their allegiance were then concluded. June 22.

In the disturbed state of mind in which Miantonomo now turned his face homewards from Boston, it would be fruitless to guess which one of various passions prevailed. A month had not passed since his departure, when news was brought that with a force of several hundred followers he had suddenly fallen upon his rival Uncas. July. The Mohegan warriors were not more than half as numerous, but they obtained a signal victory, at the cost, as was usual in Indian pitched battles, of very little blood. Miantonomo was taken prisoner, and conducted to Hartford. There, at his own request, he was left in the custody of the English, as the captive, however, of Uncas, to be disposed of by him according as he should be advised or permitted by the Commissioners. Uncas waited for this decision of theirs, in consequence of a message which he received from Gor-

ton, threatening him with the vengeance of the English unless he should release his prisoner.

These important transactions claimed the attention of the central government at its first meeting. Whatever were the new revelations now made, their import was such that the Commissioners — and among them Winthrop, who had been resolutely averse to such a conclusion — considered it to be "clearly discovered that there was a general conspiracy among the Indians to cut off all the English, and that Miantonomo was the head and contriver of it." They further found it "sufficiently evidenced that Miantonomo and his confederates had sundry ways manifested their enmity, and treacherously plotted and practised against the life of Uncas." By the laws of Indian warfare, the prisoner's life was forfeit to his captor. "These things being duly weighed and considered," the conclusion, confirmed by the unanimous voice of "five of the most judicious elders," was this: "The Commissioners apparently see that Uncas cannot be safe while Miantonomo lives, but that either by secret treachery or open force his life will still be in danger. Wherefore they think he may justly put such a false and blood-thirsty enemy to death." Miantonomo accordingly came to his end by a sudden blow with a hatchet from the brother of Uncas, in the presence of some Englishmen who were charged to protect him from torture or other outrage.

Sept. 7.

Anticipating the effect of this transaction upon

his tribe, the Commissioners sent them a message of warning and conciliation, recommending at the same time to the several colonies to make careful military preparations for what might follow. The General Court of Massachusetts was in session. The irritation of their correspondence with the renegade English friends of the Narragansetts was recent. The danger of mischief from that quarter had to be watched. The General Court issued a warrant to the settlers at Shawomet to appear in Boston at its next meeting, and make answer to Pomham's complaint of the intrusion upon his lands. The summons brought an abusive reply, addressed by Randall Holden, in the name of the company, "To the Great and Honored Idol General, now set up in the Massachusetts." It insulted the government with copious ribaldry, and tempted them with vainglorious defiance. "If your sword be drawn, ours is girt upon our thigh; if you present a gun, make haste to give the first fire; for we are come to put fire upon the earth, and it is our desire to have it speedily kindled."

Sept. 12.

Sept. 15.

The Commissioners had not left Boston, when this letter arrived. The Magistrates consulted them, and were advised to proceed in the matter "according to what they should find just, and the rest of the jurisdictions would approve and concur." They wrote immediately to the Shawomet people that they intended to send commissioners to inquire into and settle the matters

Sept. 19.

in controversy upon the spot, and that the commissioners, for their protection, would be attended with an armed guard.

Escorted by forty soldiers, the commissioners proceeded upon their errand. At a little distance from Shawomet, they received a written warning not to advance, on peril of their lives. They answered with an assurance of their wish to bring the dispute to a fair and friendly settlement with the malecontents, whom, however, in case of a failure so to do, they should have to "look upon as men prepared for slaughter."

Sept. 28.

They pushed on rapidly, and blockaded the settlement. Of the party that held it, one man, Greene, escaped by flight; the rest, ten in number, surrendered themselves, no life having been lost, and were led away prisoners through Providence to Boston. There they were put in prison, to be kept till the Court should meet.

What should be done with them? Their mischief-making was intolerable; but where was the law against it? Massachusetts had not long ago undertaken to administer justice according to a written code, and little time was required to create in Englishmen a sense of the sanctity of the special prescribed law. No small part of the offensiveness of the persons now in custody, and of the anxiety which they occasioned, consisted in their threat of an "appeal to the Honorable State of England." But there was no law in Massachusetts against such an appeal, nor could such a law prudently be

made. For their transactions with the Narragansetts the prisoners might have been indicted under the twelfth article of the Capital Laws; but to take that course would have been to create a panic in respect to the designs of the Indians. The charge upon which it was resolved to arraign them was that of being "blasphemous enemies to the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ and all his holy ordinances, and also to all civil authority among the people of God, and particularly in the jurisdiction of Massachusetts."

There was abundant proof to convict them of the latter of the two offences charged, but the penalty assigned to it by law was inadequate to the exigency. A conviction for blasphemy would meet the need. Gorton and six of his comrades were found guilty of that crime, and narrowly escaped a sentence of death. They were confined in as many different towns, at hard labor in irons. Of the remaining three, one was bound over for a future appearance, should it be required. Another, who was found to be stupid, was bidden to keep himself quiet at Watertown. The third was released, having "denied that he set his hand to the first book." A party was sent to Shawomet, "to fetch so many of their cattle as might defray the charges." Nov. 3.

After four or five months, the prisoners were released by an order of the General Court, which at the same time threatened them with death, if, after fourteen days, they should be 1644. March 7.

found "in the Massachusetts, or in or near Providence, or any of the lands of Pomham or Saconomoco." To await their friends, as they said, some of them met at Boston, whence a warrant from the Governor enjoined them to depart within two hours. They reassembled at Shawomet, whence they wrote to Winthrop to inquire whether the General Court could have meant that place by "the lands of Pomham and Saconomoco." Being informed by him that such was the fact, they retired to Rhode Island, to nurse their ill temper under the government of Coddington.

March 26.

April 1.

The next step showed their spirit, their capacity, and that power of theirs for mischief which it had been thought so important to disarm. Six or seven of them passed over to the main-land, and obtained from Canonicus and from Pessacus (brother and successor of Miantonomo) a treaty of absolute cession of the Narragansett people and territory "into the protection, care, and government of that worthy and royal prince, Charles, King of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors forever." In this instrument of surrender, — composed, it needs not be said, by English hands, — the savage chiefs declared that they were moved to it by the hope of obtaining the King's protection against "some of his Majesty's pretended subjects,' who had given them "just cause of jealousy and suspicion;" and they empowered Samuel Gorton, and his friends Holden, Wickes, and Warner, to be

April 19.

their "lawful attorneys and commissioners" to attend to "the safe custody, careful conveyance, and declaration thereof unto his Grace."

Under the same dictation, Canonicus and Pessacus addressed a letter to the General Court of Massachusetts, in which they threatened to revenge on Uncas the fate of Miantonomo. May 24. It was presently followed by a letter from John Warner, who announced himself as Secretary to "the Commissioners put in trust June 20. for the further publication of the solemn act" of the Narragansetts in their cession to the King, and threatened the Massachusetts people with the vengeance of the King and of the Mohawks, should they presume to interfere. The General Court sent two messages to the Narragansett sachems, to advise them to be quiet, and detach themMay 29. selves from their pernicious English friends. The envoys were rudely received. Canonicus would scarcely speak to them, and Pessacus persisted in the threat of a renewal of hostilities against Uncas.

He did not, however, carry out his resolution, though the uneasiness which it occasioned was not relieved till after the next meeting of the Federal Commissioners. An embassy sent by them persuaded the discontented chiefs to agree Sept. 5. with Uncas to "propound their several grievances to the Commissioners." On a hearing, it was found impossible to accomplish more at present than a postponement of the dispute. The Narragansett chiefs were brought to agree that they would ab-

stain from hostilities against Uncas till after the next corn-planting, and that, subsequently to that time, they would give thirty days' notice to the Governor of Massachusetts or of Connecticut before beginning any war. Gorton and his party continued to live unmolested upon Rhode Island. They were dangerous persons, but to leave them at large was a course less embarrassing than apparently any other would have been. Their power of annoyance was far from being exhausted. It continued to be exerted for many years.

The relations with borderers and Indians were not the only relations which the progress of events had summoned Massachusetts to oversee. The New England Confederacy was the strongest power on the Atlantic seaboard of America. Virtually, — almost formally, — Massachusetts was at the head of the Confederacy; and, with a sense of this new importance, it was not unnatural that she should assume a position of authority in respect to European colonies not embraced in the alliance. The

638. New Haven people had projected the establishment of a factory on the Delaware, near to the site which has been mentioned as being earlier occupied by a few Swedes. The visitors from New Haven were maltreated and expelled by the Swedish governor, and that colony laid its complaint before the Commissioners of the Confederacy. A letter written under their direction by

1643. Sept. Winthrop to the Swedes brought a reply with "large expressions of their respect to

the English," and particularly to Massachusetts, and a promise to refrain from molesting any future visitors who should bring authority from the Commissioners. The Dutch governor at New Amsterdam complained to the Commissioners of encroachments on the part of Connecticut, July 20. and inquired whether by taking his remedy into his own hands, he should involve himself in a quarrel with the United Colonies. Winthrop, under the direction of the Commissioners, replied by a counter-complaint, and added, "as we Sept. 21. will not wrong others, so we may not desert our confederates in any just cause." The Dutchmen were presently so much pressed by their Indian neighbors, that, instead of further reclamations from New Haven, they were fain to apply to that colony for an auxiliary force of a hundred men. The request was declined, one of the reasons assigned for the refusal being derived from a provision of the Articles of Confederation.

With her French neighbors, on the other side of her territory, Massachusetts had more communication. There were two companies of Frenchmen employed in trading for furs with the eastern Indians. The head of the one was named D'Aulnay; of the other, La Tour. The former held posts on the Penobscot, and at Port Royal (now Annapolis) and La Hève (now New Dublin) in Nova Scotia. La Tour had fortified himself at St. John, at the mouth of the river of that name, in what is now New Brunswick. He fell under the displeasure of

the French court, and D'Aulnay received instruc-
1641. Feb. 13. tions to arrest him and send him home to France. D'Aulnay was a Catholic. His rival, professing to be a Protestant, hoped that on that ground he might obtain aid at Boston, and
1643. June 12. came thither for the purpose, offering as further inducement a free trade with his posts. The Magistrates told him that they were forbidden by their obligations to the Confederacy to contribute the assistance he desired; but they gave him leave to charter vessels and enlist volunteers.

He hired four ships and enlisted some seventy men, and with them obtained some advan-
August. tage over his enemy. D'Aulnay went to France, to strengthen himself with new credentials,
1644. July. and La Tour came again to Boston, on the same business as before. Opinions were now much divided respecting his suit; and after some weeks' negotiation he was dismissed, with nothing better than unprofitable demonstrations of respect. He had scarcely left Boston, before his wife arrived there. She had come from London, with a cargo of supplies for St. John. At Boston, she sued the ship-master for a breach of contract in carrying her out of her way, and obtained a verdict. The other party attempted to delay the execution of it, by offering security for the payment, if "the Parliament of England did not call the cause before themselves;" — a proposal which "was very ill-taken by the Court, as making way for appeals, etc., into England."

While La Tour's wife was in Boston, an envoy from his rival came thither, — "one Marie, supposed to be a friar, but habited like a gentleman." He talked with the Governor in French, and with the rest of the Magistrates in Latin. He produced three papers; namely, a certified copy of the King's commission to D'Aulnay; a verification of a sentence against La Tour "as a rebel and traitor;" and an order for his and his wife's arrest and conveyance to France. "He complained of the wrong done by our men the last year in assisting of La Tour, etc., and proffered terms of peace and amity." In the sequel of the negotiation, the Magistrates agreed to present for the approbation Oct. 8. of the Commissioners, at their next meeting, a treaty, which was to be binding meanwhile, "for firm peace" and free commerce between the jurisdictions of Massachusetts and D'Aulnay.

The Magistrates had fallen into an error in permitting La Tour to enlist volunteers in Boston. The Commissioners had expressed their sense of it, and had at the same time asserted for their own body a great power by voting "that no jurisdiction within the Confederacy should permit any voluntaries to go forth in a warlike way against any people whatsoever, without order and direction of the Commissioners of the several jurisdictions." The proceeding had unsettled the politics of Massachusetts. Bellingham's party, though he prudently kept himself in the background, revived its opposition to Winthrop. Three Magistrates, namely,

Saltonstall of Watertown, and Bradstreet and Symonds of Ipswich, with their townsman, Nathaniel Ward, and three ministers, Nathaniel Rogers and John Norton of Ipswich, and Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley, addressed a joint remonstrance to the Governor. At the next annual election, Winthrop was let down into the office of Deputy-Governor. The opposition, not strong enough to choose Bellingham, conferred the highest office on Endicott, who, though never failing to treat Winthrop with affectionate respect, dissented from his recent policy. Bradstreet and William Hathorne, the latter a young man now rising into notice, were at the same time appointed to succeed Winthrop and Dudley as Federal Commissioners; and Saltonstall was designated to be Bradstreet's substitute, should the latter be detained at home.

1643. July 14.

1644. May 29.

Nor were these the most serious symptoms of disaffection from the ancient guides of opinion and policy. The Essex towns, especially, had become jealous of the influence of Boston. They called into question the hitherto established doctrine, that, when the General Court was not sitting, the Magistrates were the supreme government; and they prevailed to carry through the House of Deputies "a commission whereby power was given to seven of the Magistrates and three of the Deputies and Mr. Ward (sometime pastor of Ipswich, and still a preacher) to order all affairs of the commonwealth in the vacancy of the General Court." The

Magistrates refused their assent to this measure, as being no less than a revolutionary deposition of them from the authority vested in their office by the charter. The Deputies persisted. The dispute was still unsettled when the time which had been agreed upon for a prorogation of the Court arrived. In the recess, the Magistrates continued to exercise their functions as usual. When the Court met again, the ministers, invited to give their opinion, unanimously advised that "the Magistrates are, by patent and election of the people, the standing council of the commonwealth in the vacancy of the General Court, and have power accordingly to act in all cases subject to government, according to the said patent and the laws of this jurisdiction." The fever now was over. Saltonstall was surly, and Bellingham did not cease to be factious. But their associates in the Magistracy were undisturbed in their places, and "most of the Deputies were now well satisfied." Oct. 30.

While Massachusetts held such an attitude as has been described towards native tribes and European colonists, it is still more interesting to observe that which she assumed towards the mother country.

A year after the confederation of the four colonies, and four years after the meeting of the Long Parliament, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an order in the following terms: "That what person soever shall by word, writing, or action, endeavor to disturb our peace, May 20.

directly or indirectly, by drawing a party, under pretence that he is for the King of England, and such as adjoin with him, against the Parliament, shall be accounted as an offender of an high nature against this commonwealth, and to be proceeded with, either capitally or otherwise, according to the quality and degree of his offence." Massachusetts was not with the King against the Commons of England.

But neither was she for the Commons, without discrimination. A ship from Bristol, then held for the King, was lying in Boston harbor, when an armed vessel from London came in, and summoned the master to surrender, which he did. The consignee loudly protested; but the London captain produced his commission from the Parliament's admiral, the Earl of Warwick, and, their sympathy with Parliament prevailing, the Magistrates decided in his favor. But it was not without misgivings of their own, and loud remonstrance breaking out around them; and presently a second occasion of the same kind called for a revisal of the judgment. A ship from Dartmouth, in "the King's service," was threatened in Boston harbor by one Richardson, commander of a vessel from London, bearing the commission of Lord Warwick. In the absence of Endicott, who was at his home in Salem, Winthrop sent an order to Richardson to come on shore forthwith, which he tried to excuse himself from doing. A shot from the shore battery, which

May.

Sept.

cut his rigging, and the sight of boats with forty Boston men pulling from the north wharf for the Dartmouth vessel, brought him to a better mind, and he "came ashore, and acknowledged his error, and his sorrow for what he had done."

In short, it was now meet that neither King nor Parliament should meddle with anything under the protection of Massachusetts. The language of the time, embodying this doctrine, was, "that a commission could not supersede a patent."

CHAPTER IV.

CONGREGATIONALISM AND MISSIONARY ACTION.

THE relations of New England to the politics of the mother country were now of extreme importance. Scotland on the one hand, and New England on the other, were in the front ranks of the party war which raged in England after the downfall of prelacy. And New England was on the side which at length obtained the mastery.

The Presbyterian regimen of Calvin was imported from Geneva into Scotland by John
1559. Knox. Under the auspices of his successor,
1578. Andrew Melville, it became the ecclesiastical
1572. law of the land. Thomas Cartwright wrote in favor of it in England; but this was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and in her time and that of her successor there was little manifest fruit of his labors, though under King James the discontent with the episcopal hierarchy was constantly increasing and extending.

The first movement in arms against King Charles was made in Scotland, and the close communication and sympathy into which the patriots of the two kingdoms were brought naturally quickened the tendency of opinion in England towards that

form of church government which was approved in the sister realm. An ordinance of the Long Parliament abolished episcopacy. Another convoked an assembly "to be consulted with by the Parliament for the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England." 1642. Sept. 10. 1643. June 12.

When this body, famous in history as the *Westminster Assembly*, came together, a large majority of its members were found to be in favor of the Presbyterian rule. A considerable number were still attached to the old hierarchical system, but, obeying the King's mandate, they soon withdrew. A few members were known as *Independents*. They were in sympathy with Oliver Cromwell, Vane the younger, and some other members of Parliament. As yet, a large majority of Parliament was with the Presbyterians.

Even before the meeting of the Westminster Assembly, the controversy between Presbyterians and Independents had broken out. It continued for several years, at the end of which the Independents, a despised body at first, obtained absolute mastery. Though England was the field of the dispute, the chief champions belonged to Scotland and to New England. Hooker of Connecticut, Cotton, Shepard, Allin, Norton, Mather, and others of Massachusetts, did battle for the Independents; Baillie, Rutherfurd, Henderson, and other Scottish divines, for the Presbyterians; and according as New England or Scotland seemed to be prosper-

ing in these polemics, the star of Fairfax or of Essex seemed to be rising. The policy proclaimed by the Presbyterians was that of church unity, and of such coercion as should be necessary to secure it. The policy announced by the Independents was that of toleration, and thus they were made pertinacious and active, alike by the force of a generous purpose, and by the apprehension of what they should have to suffer in case they were overborne.

When Presbytery, arrogant and threatening, reigned in the counsels of the mother country, it could not fail to be watched with solicitude in the distant colonies. In Massachusetts, "some of the elders," Winthrop sorrowfully wrote, "went about
1643. to set up some things according to the Presbytery." These were Thomas Parker and James Noyes, ministers of the church of Newbury. They were amiable and unambitious men, who, having relieved their consciences by their manifesto, were not disposed to make further trouble.

The case was very different with William Vassall, who was one of the original Assistants named in the charter of the Massachusetts Company. He was a man of fortune, and, what was very material, his brother, also formerly an Assistant, was now one of the Parliament's Commissioners for the Government of Foreign Plantations. William Vassall had come to Massachusetts with Winthrop's fleet, but remained only a very short time.
1635. He came to New England again five years later, but then it was to the colony of

Plymouth. At Scituate he established his home, and the character of "a man of a busy and factious spirit, and always opposite to the civil government of this country, and the way of the churches." He was not unobservant of that critical period in the party conflict abroad when the "Self-Denying Ordinance" had given to the Independents a sort of control of the army, and when, on the other hand, an ordinance of Parliament had established Presbytery as the church of England. He "practised with" a few persons in Massachusetts, whose plot took the form of a "Remonstrance and Humble Petition" to the General Court. They represented that the government of the colony was not "according to the laws of England;" that many English subjects were excluded from civil and military employments, and from the franchise; and that numerous members of the Church of England were "detained from the seals of the covenant of free grace." They prayed for relief from each of these grievances; and they gave notice, that, if it were denied, they should "be necessitated to apply their humble desires to the honorable Houses of Parliament."

1645. Aug. 19.

1646. May 6.

This was serving a notice on Independent Massachusetts, that, unless she would renounce her cherished constitutions, civil and ecclesiastical, she might prepare to feel the heavy hand of a Presbyterian Parliament. The Humble Petition was subscribed by seven persons, of whom Samuel Maverick, found by Winthrop's company on an island in

Boston harbor, was one; the rest were of little or no consideration. The paper, prepared for outside effect, was "dispersed into the hands of some known ill-affected people in the governments adjoining," and even as far as "the Dutch plantation, Virginia, and Bermudas."

The occasion was not one for half-way measures. Massachusetts was not ready for Presbyterian sway, nor, as things stood, for submission to the English Parliament. The General Court answered
Nov. 4. the "Remonstrance and Petition" by a published "Declaration," designed for effect abroad as well as at home, in which they maintained their own case with equal circumspection and boldness. Vassall's friends were not to be so put down. Learning that two of them were about to embark for England, to prosecute their business, the Court stopped them with a summons to appear and "answer to the matter of their petition." They replied by an appeal "to the Gentlemen Commissioners for Plantations," and the Court ordered them into custody. The seven disturbers were next arraigned as authors of "divers false and scandalous passages in a certain paper . . . . . against the churches of Christ and the civil government here established, derogating from the honor and authority of the same, and tending to sedition." Refusing to answer, they were punished by fines, of different amounts, from fifty pounds to ten pounds. Three Assistants, Bellingham, Saltonstall, and Bradstreet, with four Deputies, opposed the sentence.

This affair, and the trouble threatened by the intrigue of Gorton and his friends with the Narragansetts, caused it to be "thought needful to send some able man into England, with commission and instructions to satisfy the Commissioners for Plantations." Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, was appointed to this agency. In a conference which was held respecting the instructions to be furnished him, the relation of Massachusetts to England was compared with that of Burgundy and Flanders to France, a relation not inconsistent with "absolute power of government." At the request of the Court, the elders drew up a second declaration, in which they said: "We conceive, that, in point of government, we have, granted by patent, such full and ample power of choosing all officers that shall command and rule over us, of making all laws and rules of our obedience, and of a full and final determination of all cases in the administration of justice, that no appeals or other ways of interrupting our proceedings do lie against us." This was no less than political independence.

Child and Dand, two of the remonstrants, were preparing to go to England with a petition to the Parliament from a number of the non-freemen. Informed of their intention, the Magistrates ordered a seizure of their papers. The searching officers found in their possession certain memorials to the Commissioners for Plantations, asking for "settled churches according to the [Presbyterian] Reformation of England;" for the establishment, in the

colony, of the laws of the realm; and for the appointment of "a General Governor, or some honorable commissioners," to reform the existing state of things. For this further offence, such of the prominent conspirators as remained in the country were punished by additional fines. Child and Dand were mulcted in the sum of two hundred pounds; Maverick, in that of a hundred and fifty pounds; and two others, of a hundred pounds each.

Vassall had preceded Winslow to England. Child soon followed. Child, as well as
1647. Vassall, had a brother then in power. But the tide was now on the turn. With the King in the hands of an Independent army, it would no longer do for Presbytery to be arrogant. Child approached the Commissioners with a petition against Massachusetts; but his associate, Thomas Fowle, had taken alarm, and begged that he might not be thought to have anything to do with it. "Mr. Vassall, finding no entertainment for his petitions, went to Barbadoes," and Child was prevailed upon by his friends "to give it under his hand never to speak evil of New England men after, nor to occasion any trouble to the country, or to any of the people," so that, "as for those who went over to procure us trouble, God met with them all."

The Presbyterian controversy, and the solicitude which it created, had revealed a weak point in the original *Independent* scheme of church order. The primitive dread of ecclesiastical domination in any

form was not at all abated, but the want had become manifest of some principle of union and some system of common authority, or of mutual influence, among the churches, both for the avoiding of scandal, and for efficiency in joint action for the common safety. A few days only after the reception of the "Remonstrance and Humble Petition" had apprised them of the existence of an alarming cabal, the General Court passed a vote convoking a synod of elders and messengers from the churches of all the confederate colonies, for "the establishing and settling of the right form of government and discipline by the joint and public agreement and consent of churches, and by the sanction of civil authority." 1646. May 15.

The synod came together in the meeting-house of Cambridge. All the churches of Massachusetts were represented, except four. The absence of the church of Concord was accidental. The church of Hingham stayed away because its minister, Mr. Hobart, feared that the synod would be too hostile to Presbytery. The churches of Boston and Salem held back, because they feared that the synod would lean too much the other way. The Pastor and Teacher of Boston "thought it their duty to go, notwithstanding;" and at length the church was prevailed upon by Mr. Norton to reinforce them with messengers. The synod did not pursue its business with alacrity. But at length, after two adjournments, and nearly two years after its first meet ng, it published its Sept. 1. 1648. Aug. 8

conclusions as they were embodied in " A Platform of Church Discipline, gathered out of the word of God."

In describing the constitution of churches as to members, officers, authority, duties, and methods of administration, the *Cambridge Platform* — known in later times as the *Book of Discipline* of the Congregational church — merely defines the principles and practices which had all along distinguished the Independent body. The chief fruit of it was a modification of the original theory, in respect to the formal recognition of an arrangement designed to introduce order and unity, and to create a capacity for more efficient action and influence than was now thought to have been provided for in the original frame of the churches. The constitution of the Independent churches of England was strictly indicated by the name which they bore. Each was competent in itself to all ecclesiastical offices, and there was no instituted connection among them. In New England, from an early period of its history, we find instances of a church encouraged or expostulated with by another church, or by churches, or by Magistrates, or by ministers, on occasions of special interest, or on apprehensions of erroneous belief or practice. With the benefit of the experience of nearly twenty years, and in the light of the events which have last been related, the discerning minds of Cotton, Hooker, Norton, and their associates, saw the expediency of giving permanence to a system of mutual supervision and

influence. Accordingly the Cambridge synod formally recognized the prerogative of occasional councils, composed of "elders and other messengers" of churches, to give advice and admonition, and in extreme cases to withhold fellowship (or participation in religious services and functions) from an offending church, "but not to exercise church censures in way of discipline, nor any other act of church authority or jurisdiction."

A Congregational Council — or *Synod*, as it was now more usually termed — was not a permanent body, like the Classes, Synods, and General Assembly of the Presbyterian church. It was summoned for a special occasion; it was composed of clerical and lay delegates from such and so many of the neighboring churches as circumstances made it convenient for the parties interested to convoke; and its existence ceased when the present occasion was over. It had no power to act immediately on individuals. Its judgment and will, if made operative at all, were carried into effect by the church or churches to which its counsels were addressed. And in case of the rejection of its advice, the highest act of authority to which it was competent was to withdraw the countenance and fellowship of the churches represented in it from the offending church, thus making public their sense of its ill-desert, and their own exemption from responsibility.

The Ecclesiastical Councils thus grafted in New England on the original scheme of Independency

may properly be considered as the specific difference of the Congregational system. The term *Congregational* now became established, as denoting a form of church order. The divines of the Cambridge synod used it in the preface to their platform; and Cotton pronounced it the fittest he knew to make a distinction, on the one hand, from the Presbyterian regimen, and, on the other, from "those corrupt sects and heresies which showed themselves under the vast title of Independency."

The platform gave its sanction to a relaxation of the primitive rule, and a faint approval to one feature of presbytery, by allowing the ordination of officers of a church by officers of other churches, "in cases where there were no elders, and the church so desired." And, as a last resort for the protection of peace and purity, it looked to the intervention of the civil power. "If any church, one or more, shall grow schismatical, rending itself from the communion of other churches, or shall walk incorrigibly or obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the word, in such case the Magistrate is to put forth his coercive power, as the matter shall require."

It is no matter of surprise that an ecclesiastical assembly should thus seek to enlist the government in support of its opinions and of its authority But the government appears not to have been forward to assume such a responsibility, or to be a party to any sharper definition of the connection between Church and State than circumstances from

time to time might call for. Agreeably to the vote by which the synod was convened, its platform was submitted to the General Court "for their consideration and acceptance in the Lord." After a delay of more than a year, the General Court re- 1649. Oct. 1
solved "to commend it to the judicious and pious consideration of the several churches within the jurisdiction, desiring a return . . . . . how far it was suitable to their judgments and approbation, before the Court proceeded any further therein." When two years more had passed, they dis- 1651. Oct. 14.
posed of the business by a brief declaratory vote, giving "their testimony to the said Book of Discipline, that for the substance thereof, it was that they had practised, and did believe."

Questions of civil and religious liberty, and of church organization, were not the only matters of common interest between the leaders of affairs in New England and in the parent country. In their solicitude to convert the natives to a Christian faith and practice, the colonists sought and found the sympathy and aid of fellow-believers in England. For a time the wants and hardships which they encountered were such as to afford sufficient employment to the thoughts of every day; though they were never indifferent about the religious condition of the savages around them, nor unconcerned to use for their benefit such opportunities as occurred. In the year after the confederation, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an order 1644. Nov. 19
which, perhaps, entitles it to be considered

the first Missionary Society of Protestant Christendom. The order directed the County Courts to take measures "to have the Indians residing in their several shires instructed in the knowledge and worship of God." It was followed up by authority given to the ministers to send two of their number "to make known the heavenly counsel of God among the Indians in most familiar manner, by the help of some able interpreter."

1646. Nov. 4.

Two names are especially connected with this enterprise, — those of John Eliot, of Roxbury, and Thomas Mayhew (father and son), of Martha's Vineyard. Having attained some proficiency in the language of the natives, Eliot first addressed an audience of them at the falls of Charles River, in Watertown. He spoke an hour and a quarter, and was assured that he was well understood. Encouraged by so prosperous a beginning, he extended his labors to other parts of Massachusetts. He preached at Dorchester, at Concord, at Yarmouth, at Sudbury, at Dedham, at Lynn, and at Brookfield, and on the whole met with gratifying success. If some of the savage auditors proved to be "naught," others were "found hungry after instruction."

Oct. 28.

The Mayhews were owners of Martha's Vineyard, by a patent which they had obtained from the Earl of Stirling. Thomas Mayhew, the son, found himself presently engaged in missionary work, and in a few years he could say: "There are now, by the grace of God

1644. 1650. Sept. 7

thirty-nine Indian men of this meeting, besides women that are looking this way, which we suppose to exceed the number of the men."

"Some thought that all this work was done and acted thus by the Indians to please the English, and for applause from them." But gratitude and hope predominated; and intelligence of the glad prospect was forwarded to England, where it was received with delight. In an address to Parliament, twelve ministers, of the most eminent in England, representing both sects, Presbyterians and Independents, commended the object of evangelizing the natives of New England to the patronage of the State. Winslow, with all his intelligent activity, urged on the movement; and an ordinance of Parliament was passed "for the promoting and propagating of the gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." It constituted a corporation in England, to consist of a president, a treasurer, and fourteen assistants, with power to hold real estate of the value of not more than two thousand pounds yearly income, and personal property without limitation. And it incidentally recognized the Confederacy by intrusting the local management of the business of the corporation to "the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England."

1647.

1649. July 19.

While Massachusetts thus sought the aid of the government of England in her endeavors to evangelize the Indians, she made no communication to Parliament respecting her intercourse with Ameri-

can subjects of the continental States of Europe. Her foreign relations she preferred to keep strictly under her own charge, and the charge of the Confederacy, which confided much to her discretion. Her French neighbors at the east had not yet ceased to be troublesome. D'Aulnay, blockading La Tour's stronghold at St. John, cap-
1645. tured a Boston vessel, and treated her crew with severity. The Magistrates sent him a letter of remonstrance; while he complained of a depar ture, on their part, from the neutrality that had been agreed upon. La Tour's fort was taken by his rival, and for the time he was ruined, with great loss to some Boston merchants, from whom he had borrowed. He took to fur-trading, and, as Winthrop believed, to piracy; but after four or five years, restored his fortunes by marrying the widow of his ancient rival. The dispute between Massachusetts and D'Aulnay had been taken up by the Commissioners, and with their help had been finally adjusted three or four years before his death.

These transactions are of little interest, except as showing with what freedom the Confederacy — or, as the case might be, Massachusetts, acting for it — took the position of an independent power. On the western border, New England had relations of a more practical description to oversee and adjust. The Dutch at New Netherland were from time to time asserting a claim which the English colonists considered themselves to be under obligations alike of honor and of interest to fend off

at least so long as their friends in England were too busy to give it their attention.

The New Haven people having set up a trading house some ten miles northwestwardly from their town, the Dutch governor wrote to the Governors of New Haven and Massachusetts to remonstrate against the encroachment on his domain. The Federal Commissioners took cognizance of the matter, and sent a messenger to New Amsterdam to signify their approbation of the proceeding complained of, and to make a counter representation respecting misconduct of the Dutch at the fort which they still held at Hartford. Kieft, the Dutch governor, was soon displaced. Peter Stuyvesant, his successor, in a letter of ceremony to the Governor of Massachusetts, "laid claim to all between Connecticut and Delaware," and was answered by a complaint of the sale of arms and ammunition by the Dutch to the Indians. Other occasions of dispute arose, but Stuyvesant became less offensive, as he learned more of those with whom he had to contend. He wrote to the Governor of Massachusetts, proposing to submit to him and to the Governor of Plymouth the questions pending between New Netherland and New Haven. The General Court advised that the proposal should be submitted to the Commissioners. The Commissioners addressed to Stuyvesant a joint letter, inquiring what it was that he proposed to refer, and what were his credentials. They re'ated

1646. Aug. 3.

Sept. 7

1647.

1648. March.

Sept. 16.

their grounds of complaint against his colony, and gave him notice of their intention to retaliate any injustice done to any person, of whatever nation, inhabiting within their bounds, and, in short, to "vindicate the English rights by all suitable and just means." Stuyvesant could not take the responsibility of provoking the execution of these threats. He wrote home asking for instructions, and urging that the parent governments should settle the controversy. And here it rested for the present.

Dec. 23.

CHAPTER V.

THE NARRAGANSETT COUNTRY.

When Winslow went to England as agent for Massachusetts to counteract the plots of Gorton and Child and their respective associates, eleven years had passed since the last of his three previous voyages to that country. Instead of having in charge, as before, an humble suit to a domineering Privy Council, and a vexatious negotiation with some London merchants for a small sum of money, the cause of a community beginning to be confident in its power was now to be pleaded by him in the hearing of rulers of England who recognized him as their equal associate. He arrived in the month in which the King was surrendered by the Scottish army to the English Parliament, 1647. Jan. and two months before the question of disbanding the troops provoked the open quarrel between the Presbyterians and the Independents.

His success in relation to the dispute of the authorities of Massachusetts with the Presbyterians in that colony was related in the last chapter. The intrigues of Gorton, Greene, and Holden had demanded his still earlier attention. As Child and his party relied upon the Presbyterians for support

so in the Levellers and Ranters, whom the strong hand of Cromwell, after helping them to rise, was now hardly keeping in check, the emissaries from Shawomet found sympathizers so numerous and active that other parties were indisposed to incur their displeasure.

Gorton and his colleagues had gone to England more than a year before Winslow. They took with them the Act of Submission of the Narragansetts, and they presented to the Commissioners for Foreign Plantations a complaint of the treatment which their company had experienced. They obtained from the Commissioners an order to the government of Massachusetts to allow the petitioners and their friends "freely and quietly to live and plant upon Shawomet," till such time as the adverse claim of Massachusetts could be presented and considered. With this order, and with a letter of safe-conduct from the same authority, Holden arrived in Boston three months before Winslow's departure. The Governor refused him permission to land, till the advice of the Magistrates should be obtained. The Magistrates, divided in opinion, recommended that the elders should be consulted. The elders, too, were of different minds; but "the greater part, both of Magistrates and elders, thought it better to give so much respect to the protection which the Parliament had given him, as to suffer him to pass quietly away."

1646. May 15.

Sept. 13.

In drawing up instructions for their agent, and

a remonstrance and petition which he was to present to the Commissioners, the General Court proceeded with great caution. It was not till after some deliberation that they determined to "give the Commissioners their title, lest thereby," they said, "we should acknowledge all that power they claim in our jurisdiction." They declined to make the formal answer which had been called for to the charges of Gorton and his confederates, preferring to "wait upon Providence for the preservation of their just liberties, if the Parliament should be less inclinable." They instructed their agent to maintain that their charter gave them an "absolute power of government;" and in their remonstrance they cautioned the Commissioners against assuming a responsibility to which they would be sure to find themselves unequal.

Just before Winslow reached England, Gorton had presented his case to the public in a book, with a long title, of which the first part is, "Simplicitie's Defence against Seven-Headed Policy." In a few weeks Winslow published a reply to it, which in some copies bears the title of "The Danger of tolerating Levellers in a Civil State," in others, the title of "Hypocrisie Unmasked." In a dedication to the Earl of Warwick and his fellow-Commissioners, they were urged to refuse to receive appeals from New England, and by this and other acts of justice to the people of that country, to lay them under an obligation to "engage with and for" the Parliament and the Commissioners

"against all opposers of the State, to the last drop of blood in their veins."

This publication was seasonable. Ecclesiastical *Independency* was climbing rapidly to dominion in England; and Massachusetts, the champion of that system, was in favor. The Commissioners hastened to relieve the anxiety which was felt as to the most important point that had been raised. "We intend-

1647. May 25. ed not," they wrote, "to encourage any appeals from your justice." Finally, the application of Gorton and his friends to the Commissioners for an authoritative interference in their behalf obtained no more than an intercession for indulgent

July 22. treatment of them. "We commend it to the government, under whose jurisdiction they shall appear to be, ... to encourage them with protection and assistance, in all fit ways, provided that they demean themselves peaceably, ... wherein if they shall be faulty, we leave them to be proceeded with according to justice."

Thus discomfited, Gorton set his face home-

1648. May. ward. Arriving at Boston, he produced a letter from the Earl of Warwick, "desiring only that he might have liberty to pass home." This was yielded only after much opposition, and by a majority of a single vote in the General Court. No immediate inconvenience followed from Gorton's presence. He had come back a sadder and more peaceable, if not a wiser, man. Encouraged by the order of the Parliamentary Commissioners brought by Holden in the second

preceding year, several of the party had reassembled at Shawomet, to which place they had given the name of *Warwick*, in commemoration, or in hope, of the noble admiral's favor. They no sooner learned from their returning emissary how little he had prospered, than they "sent two of their company to petition the General Court, and make their peace." Learning at Dedham, on their way, that the Court had adjourned, the messengers wrote to Winthrop, in terms not so much deferential as abject, asking leave to wait upon him with the "humble request" which they had in charge. The Governor's reply, if he made one, is not recorded. While the people at Warwick should be inoffensive, as they had lately been, and as there was now an increased probability that they would continue to be, Massachusetts had no desire to disturb them.

The account which has been given of transactions in and relating to the Narragansett country through a period of nearly eight years, has been confined to the proceedings of the Indians of that name, and of the party of Gorton now resettled at Shawomet. An independent series of events, possessing a different kind of interest, had been taking place meanwhile in the same neighborhood.

The reader remembers, that, at the time of the confederation, Newport with Portsmouth, on Rhode Island, constituted one community, and Providence another, — the two being as distinct as either was from Plymouth or from Connecticut

And so they remained for three years longer, when, in the sequel of proceedings which are now to be related, an attempt was made, but with little success, to unite the jurisdictions.

It was two months before the confederation, and some two years after Gorton had begun his annoyances at Providence, that Roger Williams set sail for England, in the hope of obtaining some authority for a government of the settlements on Narragansett Bay. Favorably introduced by Sir Henry Vane, he had obtained from the Parliamentary Commissioners a patent, which associated "the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport" in one community, "by the name of the Incorporation of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay in New England." It prescribed no criterion of citizenship, and no form of organization. It simply empowered the "inhabitants" of the towns named to establish such a government as "they should find most suitable to their state and condition," and to make laws "conformable to the laws of England, so far as the nature of the case would admit."

1643. March. 1644. March 14.

This instrument Williams brought to Boston, with a letter to the Magistrates, in which not the Commissioners, who perhaps scrupled to ask what might be denied, but "divers lords and others of the Parliament" requested that he might have friendly treatment. At Providence he received a cordial welcome, but this was all. For

Sept.

the present there appeared little disposition to turn to account the arrangement which he had made. Plymouth sent one of her Assistants to Rhode Island to declare that great part of the territory covered by the new patent was within her limits. Massachusetts asserted a similar claim on the ground of a patent obtained from the Commissioners three months earlier than that of Williams. Coddington and his friends had been no parties to Williams's scheme, and did not wish it to succeed. Williams withdrew to a residence in the heart of the Narragansett country, where, in partnership with an Englishman whom he found there, named Richard Smith, he took to trading with the Indians, and for a time was expecting to grow rich.

Nov. 5.

Holden returned from England, as has been related, two years after Williams. Perhaps he had concerted with Gorton to bring about a pacification of the feud which had existed between them and Williams, and unite their forces to set up, for the common advantage, the government which had been authorized by Williams's patent. At all events, within a few months after Holden's return, we find Williams, with nine other persons, among whom were Gorton's friends, John Greene and Richard Waterman, elected to represent the town of Providence in a convention of delegates from all the Narragansett settlements. The convention included a delegation from Warwick, though the patent had given no authority to that

1647. May 16.

plantation. A constitution of union and government was established, and a minute code of laws. The one colony was to have a President, four Assistants, (in each town one,) and other officers, to be chosen each year by a general assembly of the citizens. John Coggeshall, of Newport, was made President, from which town were also taken the Recorder (or Secretary), and the Treasurer. Williams was Assistant for Providence, Coddington for Newport, and Holden for Warwick. Sanford, who represented Portsmouth at that board, must have found it hard to keep the peace between his colleagues.

May 19–21.

The scheme proved a failure. The machine had taken some three years to construct and set agoing, after its construction had been authorized by the patent. In three years more it ran down. Three only of the proposed annual Assemblies were held. At the first of these, Coddington was chosen President, but declined to serve; and, on the other hand, "divers bills of complaint were exhibited against him," of which he took no notice. It was about this time that Gorton returned from England, as has been related.

Eight months later, Coddington sailed for England, with objects that will be explained hereafter. Meanwhile, stimulated, as appears, by the return of Gorton, who, he apprehended, would prove "a thorn, if the Lord prevented not," he had attempted a negotiation of equal delicacy and importance. In behalf, as he

1650. Jan.

alleged, of "the majority of the people of Rhode Island," he applied to the Commissioners of the four colonies for their admission into the Confederacy. But this, he was told, the islanders could not obtain, except by placing themselves under the jurisdiction of Plymouth; a course to which, personally, he was now by no means disinclined, but which he could not command sufficient support among his neighbors to make practicable. In his place Williams was made Chief Magistrate, with the title of Deputy-President. 1649. March. Williams held the office but two months, May 22. being succeeded at the annual election by John Smith, of Warwick, who, in Massachusetts, had been one of the partisans of Child. The next following year, Nicholas Easton, of Newport, was chosen President. 1650. The government was now falling to pieces. Before the end of the year a special meeting of the General Court was held, and an order was passed "to capitulate with Mr. Williams about his going to England" to make further endeavors for a settlement. But Williams, after his experience, had no heart for the undertaking; and for the present the plantations of disorganized Rhode Island went on each its own fantastic way.

It is necessary to retrace our steps in order to follow the course of transactions with the Narragansett Indians. The expectations with which Gorton and his friends had encouraged them in their quarrel with Massachusetts had been wofully

disappointed. Gorton had disappeared for three years. None of the assistance he had promised them came from the King. At the expiration of

1644. Sept. the truce which they had been persuaded to make with Uncas, their attitude again became menacing. A force, said to amount to not less than four thousand warriors of the tribe, and to

1645. have as many as thirty muskets, fell upon the Mohegans, who again defeated them, but not without considerable loss. An occasion was thought to have arisen for a special meeting of the Federal Commissioners, which accordingly

July 28. was held at Boston. They despatched messages to the hostile chiefs, requiring their presence personally, or by ambassadors, to treat of the terms of peace. The messengers returned with the defiance of the Narragansetts. Probably Gorton had not yet gone abroad, and was giving them encouragement. Williams wrote "that the country would suddenly be all on fire by war;" and that "the Narragansetts had been with the plantations combined with Providence, and solemnly treated and settled a neutrality with them."

"These premises being weighed, it clearly appeared that God called the colonies to a war;" and the call was promptly answered. It was arranged that three hundred men should take the field: one hundred and ninety from Massachusetts, forty from Plymouth, as many from Connecticut and thirty from New Haven. Edward Gibbons of Massachusetts, was appointed commander-in

chief. Within three days forty men marched from Massachusetts, to secure Uncas against a surprise. Other messengers were despatched to renew the proposal for the suspected sachems to present themselves at Boston, and to add that "deputies would not now serve, nor might the preparations in hand be now stayed." Williams, who had come from England nearly a year before, accompanied the messengers as interpreter, and probably made himself useful, though the Commissioners blamed their agents for employing him.

The chiefs were brought to reconsider their passionate decision; and the Narragansetts, Pessacus and Mixan, with Ninigret, sachem of their Nyantic allies, came to Boston, where they concluded a treaty of "firm and perpetual peace" with the English, with Uncas, with Pomham and Sacononoco, and with all other Indians "in friendship with, or subject to, any of the English." They agreed to reimburse the charge of the expedition against them to the amount of "two thousand fathom of good white wampum," payable in four annual instalments, and to leave four children of their chiefs as hostages for their good faith.

The instalment due in the following spring was not paid. It remained unpaid when another year had passed, and it was feared that the omission was to be explained by intelligence which had been received, to the effect that the Narragansetts had "been plotting, and by presents of wampum engaging the Indians round about to combine with

them against the English colonies in war." At a special meeting held at Boston, the Commissioners resolved to send to Pessacus and require his immediate presence before them. He sent excuses, which, though they were humble, did not satisfy, and with them his ally Ninigret, who, promising that the debt should be speedily discharged, was dismissed with the threat, that, if there were twenty days' more delay, "the Commissioners would send no more messengers, but take course to right themselves, as they saw cause, in their own time."

1647 July 26.

Nevertheless, after still another year, the account remained unsettled, while stories continued to arrive of attempts on the part of the Narragansetts to contract an alliance with the powerful and mercenary Mohawks. Remonstrances and menaces, repeated during yet three years longer by the English, failed to obtain anything more than an uncertain and anxious peace. A Narragansett Indian, arrested in an attempt upon the life of Uncas, affirmed that he had been bribed to the deed by the chief of his tribe. The Commissioners decided that it was necessary to take final measures "to keep the colonies from contempt among the Indians, and to prevent their improving the said wampum to hire other Indians to join with themselves;" and they sent Captain Atherton, with twenty Massachusetts men, to Pessacus to "demand the said wampum, and upon refusal or delay, to take the same, or the value thereof."

1650. Sept. 5.

He was instructed, "if other means were wanting, with as little hurt as might be," to seize and bring away either Pessacus or his children. Atherton sought the sachem in his wigwam, and the demonstration was decisive. The wampum was paid, and for the present the Narragansetts seemed to be impressed with the safety of peaceable behavior.

CHAPTER VI.

LAST YEARS OF WINTHROP.

Confederacies always contain elements of jealousy, which are so many disintegrating forces When the confederation of the four New England colonies was made, it was not till after some reluctance had been overcome, first on the part of Massachusetts, then on the part of Connecticut. Possessing wealth and numbers far superior to the aggregate of those of the three smaller colonies, Massachusetts was both tempted to arrogance, and liable to be regarded with unreasonable distrust.

The first dispute which arose was between Massachusetts and Connecticut. To pay her debt to George Fenwick, incurred by the purchase from him of the fort at Saybrook, Connecticut levied a toll on all vessels passing out of the river. The people of Springfield refused to pay it, on the ground of their belonging to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The penalty of refusal, which was confiscation of the property, Connecticut forbore to exact, till there should be a judgment of the Federal Commissioners on the validity of her claim.

1646. Sept. 22. The Commissioners, regarding the object of the impost to be "chiefly to maintain the

fort for security and conveniency," in which security and conveniency "Springfield had in its proportion the same benefit" as the lower towns, seemed to approve the action of Connecticut. But as Massachusetts had given her representatives no instructions touching the matter, a final disposition of it was postponed.

The reader would weary of the details of a discussion which was continued through nearly three years. Massachusetts contended that Connecticut ought not to wrest from the inhabitants of another jurisdiction any part of the money used for a purchase of her own; that the fort at Saybrook was "not useful" to Springfield; and that the Springfield people would not have planted where they did, had they been apprehensive of subjecting themselves to such a burden as was now imposed. To this and other arguments Connecticut replied, that the impost was not, in fact, "to purchase land or fort," though the destination of it was a point into which the party taxed had no right to inquire; that the fort had been, was, and would continue to be, useful to Springfield; and that no expectation of the now disputed impost would have hindered that plantation.

As the discussion went on, it extended itself into various particulars. From first to last the Commissioners from the two neutral colonies, at first with forbearance and modesty, at last with decision, though with dignity and temper, favored the claim of Connecticut. Such was the displeasure in Mas-

sachusetts at this aspect of things, that the General Court raised a committee to revise the Articles of Confederation, and propose such amendments as might appear necessary for the protection of the several colonies against the injustice of a consolidated power. This committee proposed to the Federal Commissioners at their next meeting various amendments of the Articles, among which one was, that, as "Massachusetts bore almost five for one in the proportion of charge with any one of the rest," she should be represented in the Federal Congress by three Commissioners, and that any one colony should have the same privilege of representation, on consenting to the same pecuniary burden. Another was that a declaration should be made, that, if any colony forbore to follow the advice of the Commissioners, "the same not to be accounted any offence or breach of any Article of the Confederation." This communication led to no practical result of importance. The Commissioners may have regarded it as not altogether inoffensive; but their treatment of it was marked with good sense and good temper.

1648. May 10.

Sept. 7

As to the original question of the impost at Saybrook, Massachusetts, by a vigorous, not to say arbitrary measure, showed her confidence in her own case, and her resentment against the judges whom she had failed to convince. Foreign vessels entering the principal harbors of Massachusetts had been required to pay a duty "towards the maintenance of the fortification for the defence

1649. May 2.

of the said harbors." The law provided that "none of the vessels of our confederates . . . . shall pay any custom or imposition in any of our harbors." That exemption was now withdrawn in respect to Boston harbor, making vessels of Plymouth and New Haven, as well as of Connecticut, liable to a payment at the Castle of Boston similar to what was exacted from Springfield traders at Saybrook. The significance of this proceeding was simple. The Commissioners from the two smaller colonies forwarded to Massachusetts a remonstrance against her action, and with proper dignity "desired to be spared in all further agitations concerning Springfield." The angry attitude of Massachusetts was, perhaps, not such as she could justify herself in maintaining; and the retaliating act was repealed the next year, "the Court having been credibly informed that the jurisdiction at Connecticut will for the present suspend the taking of any custom of us, and that they intend to repeal the order whereby they imposed it." On the other hand, eminent and admirable as the Commissioners of the neutral colonies were for integrity and good judgment, the careful reader of the controversy at the present day will hesitate to pronounce that on the original question they had decided wisely.

July. 1650. May 23

In each of the three smaller colonies of the Confederacy, the popular attachment to the primitive leaders was remarkably constant, and no such official changes took place as would have indicated

occasional variations of policy. It was otherwise in Massachusetts. While the most important of the events sketched in this and the last chapter were passing, Winthrop was at the head of affairs. But it was after a third interval, during which, for two years, he had held a subordinate position. Endicott was Governor in the year when the engagement to keep the peace with Uncas was extorted from the Narragansetts. Dudley was Governor during the year in which that engagement was broken, and in which Eliot made his first essay in preaching to the natives. In both these years Winthrop was Deputy-Governor.

Endicott's term of office was just expiring when
1645. April. a scheme was proposed to change the basis of representation in the House of Deputies, "so as to have only five or six out of each shire," instead of one at least from every town. The expensiveness of the existing usage was the reason urged for this change. "The greater number of towns," however, "refused it; so it was left for this time." And more than two hundred years passed after this time, before such a change was made.

The restlessness of the party opposed to Winthrop was manifested in a measure which in those days had much more significance than it would now have. It had been the practice, almost from the beginning, for the Magistrates to appoint some minister to preach before the General Court on the day of annual election. In one year, the year

when the factious Bellingham was Governor, and when Ward obtained a well-merited popularity by his *Body of Liberties*, "some of the freemen" chose him to be election preacher, 1641. and the Magistrates acquiesced, for quiet's sake. When Endicott was Governor, this prescriptive privilege of the Magistrates was a second time invaded. The Deputies appointed John 1644. October Norton, conspicuous for his opposition to Winthrop in the matter of La Tour and D'Aulnay, to be the election preacher. The Magistrates, on hearing this, cancelled their own appointment, which had fallen upon Norris, of Salem, minister of the Governor. It is probable that their moderation, and the magnanimity of Endicott, who, though he had differed on the recent occasion from Winthrop and his friends, knew their worth, and had no disposition to see them treated with disrespect, led to the partial restoration of the former settled order of things, which took place when Endicott's official year expired.

Dudley, on succeeding him, found an unpleasant quarrel on his hands. In the town of Hingham there had been a disputed election of captain of the trainband. The company mutinied against the officer whom the Magistrates decided to have been rightfully chosen. The church, under the ministry of Peter Hobart, summoned the captain before them, on a charge of having misled the Magistrates by false information. The Magistrates sent a constable "to attach some of the principal offenders;"

and Hobart, with others, was brought to Boston where his deportment to the Magistrates was so disrespectful that he was told they would have committed him, "were it not for respect to his ministry." The impulse to Hobart's disorderly conduct was probably one which does not appear upon the surface. He was "of a Presbyterial spirit." When, a few months after the time of the transactions now related, the plot of Child and his six friends was just ripened for execution, the marshal was resisted in collecting fines levied on citizens of Hingham, and Hobart abetted the disorder, and avowed his sympathy with the political heresies of the Presbyterian mutineers. It is probable that in the view of the Magistrates the knowledge of these propensities of his, not sufficiently considered as yet by the Deputies, perhaps not as yet known, gave significance to his conduct in respect to the military election of his town.

With eighty of his friends, he presented a petition to the General Court which came together at the time of Dudley's accession. The prayer was for a hearing against the recent action of "some of the Magistrates." The Deputies consented. The Magistrates expressed their willingness to grant the hearing, if the petitioners would name the Magistrates complained of, and describe the alleged offence. "The petitioners' agents thereupon singled out the Deputy-Governor."

1645. May 14.

What followed was the crowning glory of a course of honor now nearly finished. "The day

appointed being come, the Court assembled in the meeting-house at Boston. Divers of the elders were present, and a great assembly of people. The Deputy-Governor, coming in with the rest of the Magistrates, placed himself beneath the bar, and so sat uncovered." At this, "many, both of the Court and the assembly, were grieved." But he said that he had taken what was the fit place for an accused person; and that, "if he were upon the bench, it would be a great disadvantage to him, for he could not take that liberty to plead the cause which he ought to be allowed at the bar."

He argued at length that there had been "open disturbance of the peace and slighting of authority," and that the course taken by the Magistrates for the honor of government and the security of the people had been "according to the equity of laws here established, and the custom and laws of England, and our constant practice these fifteen years." In the Court a debate followed which ran through more than seven weeks, with a single week's intermission. The assembly, if it contained angry elements, was, on the whole, a generous one, and the disaffected Deputies found themselves convinced or disabled. The House offered to join the Magistrates in voting that "the petition was false and scandalous;" that the "parties to the disturbance at Hingham were all offenders;" and that "the Deputy-Governor ought to be acquit and righted." But they were not yet ready to agree that "the petitioners were to be censured." The

Magistrates, however, now felt their power, and would take no less than a thorough measure; and a concurrent action of the two Houses proclaimed an absolute acquittal of the Deputy-Gov-
July 8. ernor, and a sentence of all the petitioners to pay fines, the largest of which was twenty pounds, and that of the minister two pounds.

Winthrop's triumph was complete. "The Governor read the sentence of the Court, without speaking any more. . . . . Then was the Deputy-Governor desired by the Court to go up and take his place again upon the bench, which he did accordingly; and, the Court being about to arise, he desired leave for a little speech." The little speech was a magnificent discussion of the uses and limitations of political power, of the responsibility of rulers, the principles of a right and reasonable criticism of their conduct, and the nature of that liberty, which is not ruinous license.

The reader is acquainted with the leading particulars of the condition of public affairs at this time. The Presbyterians were plotting. The Narragansetts were stirring. Connecticut was thought to be encroaching. Plainly, the times were out of joint, and again there was need of Winthrop. Changing places with Dudley, he resumed the highest office, to remain in it as long as he lived. The popular spasm was over. The pendulum swung back. The election sermon was preached by Norris, who had been the candidate of the Magistrates the year before. The freemen

took to themselves the electing of Federal Commissioners, instead of allowing them to be chosen by the General Court; but this was because they thought, that, in choosing in one instance to that office a person no higher than a Deputy, the Court had not been sufficiently mindful of the dignity that belonged to it.

During Winthrop's last administration, the code of laws was revised, enlarged, and in other respects improved. But the great memorial of this period of his government is the establishment of that system of common schools, which, to every child of Massachusetts, through the seven generations that have followed, has opened the book of knowledge and the way to competence and honor. To the end "that learning might not be buried in the grave of the fathers," the General Court provided by law, "that every township in the jurisdiction, after the Lord had increased them to the number of fifty householders," should maintain a school, and that every town with a hundred families should "set up a grammar-school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they might be fitted for the University." 1647. Nov. 11.

The ranks of the settlers of New England had now begun to be thinned. Winthrop recorded in his journal the death of "that faithful servant of the Lord," Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, "the fruits of whose labors in both Englands," he wrote, "shall preserve an honorable and happy remembrance of him forever." Winthrop's July 7.

own end was at hand. Early in his sixty-second year, "he took a cold, which turned into a fever, whereof he lay sick about a month," and then closed his eyes upon a scene of rare prosperity, which he, helped by many other good and able men, had been the chief instrument in creating. His last look abroad rested upon the tranquil and affluent dwellings of a flourishing, Christian people, enjoying a virtual independence which wellnigh realized the longing of the best third of his life. The vital system of New England was complete. It had only thenceforward to grow, as the human body grows from childhood to graceful and robust maturity. What one life could do for a community's well-being, the life of Winthrop had diligently and prosperously done. The prosecution of the issues he had wrought for was now to be committed to the wisdom and courage of a younger generation, and to the course of events under the continued guidance of a gracious Providence.

1649. March 26.

CHAPTER VII.

MASSACHUSETTS AND THE CONFEDERACY.

Winthrop died just before tidings of the great tragedy that had been enacted in England would have reached his ears. In the ten years which elapsed between the death of King Charles the First and the death of Oliver Cromwell, the rapid succession of important events in the mother country, and the confidence and favor with which the governing party there regarded the colonists of New England, conspired to prevent attempts to control the administration of the Confederacy, and it transacted its business without reference to any superior authority abroad.

Just after Winthrop's death, who was succeeded by Endicott, a new relation arose between Massachusetts and the French colonists on the north of her country. On the recovery by France, 1632
eighteen years before this time, of the American territory which had been conquered from her by England, the region along the St. Lawrence became missionary ground. The Catholic preachers made converts among the Huron Indians on the north side of Lake Erie, and among the Abenaquis in what is now called Maine. A large force of Iroquois Indians, having routed the Hurons,

pursued the fugitives to the very walls of Quebec.

1649. In this strait, the governor of New France, named D'Ailleboust, conceived the hope of obtaining help from Massachusetts and Plymouth, which latter colony had relations with the Abenaquis through its colony upon the Kennebec; and

1651. two messengers, Gabriel Druillettes, a priest, and John Godefroy, a member of the Council of New France, proceeded to New Haven to obtain the sanction of the Federal Commissioners, to whom, at Boston, the business had been referred.

The envoys urged the New England colonies to "join in the war," in order to protect the Christain converts among the Abenaquis, and to prevent that interruption of trade with them which would be hurtful to French and English alike. If the colonies would not consent to take part in the war, then the envoys desired permission to enlist men and obtain provisions within their territory, or at least to march forces through it as occasion might require. The Commissioners declined all these proposals. They were not satisfied,

Sept. 6. they said, of the justness of the war; and, as to a treaty of commerce, to which they might nave been disposed, they must await "a fitter season" for it, as the envoys had no authority to make it except in connection with an alliance.

Meanwhile the dispute between the western colonies and the New Netherlanders seemed for a time to have been brought to an amicable issue

The hope entertained by Stuyvesant that it might be settled by an agreement between the mother countries had to be abandoned in consequence of their estrangement from each other after the execution of King Charles. But the governor had instructions to "live with his neighbors on as good terms as possible;" and he decided to waive ceremony, and make a strenuous effort to bring about a better state of things.

He came to Hartford while the Federal Commissioners were in session there. He laid before them a complaint of various injuries done by the English to his countrymen, of which the most serious was the "unjust usurpation and possessing the land upon the river commonly called *Connecticut*, or the Fresh River." The Commissioners replied, asserting the English title to the lands on the Connecticut as derived from "patent, purchase, and possession." Stuyvesant proceeded to argue his case with zeal; but he learned the temper of his opponents, and came to the conclusion that a different expedient must be tried. He proposed that the matters in controversy should be referred to the judgment of four arbitrators, of whom two should be named by the Commissioners and two by himself. The proposal was accepted. Bradstreet of Massachusetts and Prince of Plymouth were appointed referees on the part of the Confederacy; Thomas Willett and George Baxter, English residents at New Amsterdam, on the part of the Dutch. Their

1650. Sept. 11

Sept. 15.

award, made on the day after their appointment, disallowed in all particulars the claim of the Dutch. A boundary was established, securing to New Netherland a strip of territory no more than ten miles wide, easterly from Hudson's River. The arrangement subjected Stuyvesant to severe displeasure and complaint at New Amsterdam. But it was not to have been expected that he should obtain one more favorable; and it may be believed, that, when he named Englishmen to be arbitrators on his part, he had made up his mind to the necessity of full concessions.

But New Haven and Connecticut were uneasy and suspicious, and further provocations followed. On the Delaware, where they were still undertaking to make a settlement, they had a quarrel with some Dutchmen who were there before them. When, a year and a half after Stuyvesant's settlement, a war broke out between the parent countries, Connecticut proceeded to put the fort at Saybrook in an efficient state of defence. Both colonies were in a condition to lend a ready ear to reports which got abroad of a plot of the Dutch to enlist against them a joint force of the Mohawks and Nyantics, and of other natives within their own borders. When the rumor, with some corroborating circumstances, reached Boston, the Magistrates with all speed called a special meeting of the Commissioners, and, without waiting till it should take place, sent messengers to Pessacus and Mixan, and to Ninigret

1653. Feb. 23.

April 2.

sachem of the Nyantics, to require their testimony as to the existence of the alleged plot. The chiefs severally denied all knowledge of it; and they sent four or five messengers to give such further satisfaction to the Commissioners as might be desired.

Nothing could be learned from those messengers in corroboration of the report. The Commissioners were divided in opinion. In Massachusetts it was feared that Uncas, from whom the fullest information of the conspiracy had come, was now designing to obtain, through a fabrication, advantages like what a disclosure of facts had formerly afforded him in his quarrel with Miantonomo. But Plymouth sided with the western colonies; and the Commissioners determined to raise a force of five hundred men, and to place them under the command of John Leverett, of Massachusetts, for a war with the Dutch. May 2.

In the mean time, Leverett and another officer of the Boston regiment, with Francis Newman, a Magistrate of New Haven, had gone to New Netherland to confer with Stuyvesant at his request. They came back, not entirely satisfied with his behavior, but, at the same time, without sufficient confirmation of the suspicions which had been entertained. Massachusetts was becoming more and more averse to aggressive proceedings in the existing deficiency of proofs to justify them. The General Court now interfered, and desired, before things should go too far, to have "a consultation" with the Federal Commissioners by a

committee of their own body, to be joined with some of the elders.

The conference was held. Governor Eaton
May 25. presented a written statement on one side; Major-General Denison presented a statement which moderately favored the other. The elders took the papers, and considered them for two days, and then delivered their judgment against the precipitating of hostilities. "Upon serious and conscientious examination," they said, "of the proofs produced, we cannot find them so fully conclusive as to clear up present proceeding to war before the world, and to bear up our hearts with that fulness of persuasion that is meet in commending the case to God in our prayers, and to his people in our exhortations." The Deputies were all ready to pronounce their decision. The
May 28. next day they communicated to the Commissioners a resolve of theirs, that "they did not understand they were called to make a present war with the Dutch."

The Commissioners persisted. With the exception of Bradstreet, one of the Commissioners for Massachusetts, they were unanimous for war; though there is some reason to believe that Hathorne, his colleague, and the Plymouth Commissioners, were influenced in their course by considerations of the existing attitude of the parent countries, rather than by a conviction of the reality of the plot charged upon the colonists at New Netherland. A committee was immediately raised

by the General Court to report an answer to the question, "Whether the Commissioners have power, by articles of agreement, to determine the justice of an offensive or vindictive war, and to engage the colonies therein?" The sixth Article of Confederation authorized the Commissioners to "examine, weigh, and determine all affairs of war or peace." From general considerations, and from the language of other articles, the committee argued, in their report, that the provision extended no further than to matters of defensive war; and they concluded by declaring it to be "a scandal in religion, that a General Court of Christians should be obliged to act and engage upon the faith of six delegates against their conscience." The report was approved by both branches of the legislature of Massachusetts. June 2.

This was very serious. When intelligence of the unexpected stand that had been made reached Plymouth, the General Court of that colony raised a committee to examine the Articles of Confederation, "and give in their thoughts." But it does not appear that this action had any result. The General Court of New Haven were strongly incensed. They commissioned two messengers, to be joined by two from Connecticut, to proceed to Boston with a remonstrance. If this should fail, they were to endeavor to obtain permission to enlist volunteers, New Haven being resolved, if this could be done, to embark in the war with the aid of Connecticut June 7. June 29.

alone. And the General Court of New Haven voted, that, unless that of Massachusetts withdrew its objectionable interpretation of the Articles, there was no reason why the Commissioners should hold another meeting.

This strong ground Connecticut declined to adopt, while acceding to the proposal to expostulate with Massachusetts. The messengers did their errand, and brought back letters from the Governor and the Magistrates of that colony. Endicott said, that he could not answer for the General Court, which was not then in session; but that he did not believe they would consent, "either to shed blood, or to hazard the shedding of their subjects' blood, except they could satisfy their consciences that God called for it; . . . . . neither did he think it was ever at first intended so to act against their consciences, when they entered into confederation." The Magistrates frankly avowed, that, in their judgment, the Articles made no distinction, as to the power of the Commissioners, between offensive and defensive wars.

At the regular time, the Commissioners for all four of the colonies again came together at Boston. The General Court of Massachusetts was at the same time in session. The Court complained to the Commissioners of the injustice of being placed, "under a dilemma, either to act without satisfaction against their light, or be accounted covenant-breakers." The Commissioners admitted the paramount obligation

Sept. 1.

of the *Higher Law*. "We know well," they said, "that no authority or power in parents, magistrates, commissioners, etc., doth or ought to hold against God or his commands. But" they added, "we conceive that is not the question here."

Massachusetts conceived that it was the question, and would not recede. The Commissioners threatened to dissolve the Confederacy. The Court replied, that they should "acquiesce in their last paper, and leave the success to God." Sept. 9. But some conciliating language which was added was so far accepted by the Commissioners that they determined to refer the dispute to their respective General Courts, and to proceed to the ordinary business of the session.

At the same time, there were transactions with the southern natives, besides those incident to their supposed conspiracy with the Dutch. It being told that some Long Island Indians, friendly to the English, had suffered ill treatment from the Narragansetts and Nyantics, the chiefs of these tribes were summoned to justify themselves before the Commissioners at Boston. Sept. 12. Ninigret, the Nyantic, refused to come, and gave "proud, peremptory, and offensive answers" to the bearers of the message. Hereupon the Commissioners voted that they "conceived themselves called by God to make a present war" Sept. 20. against him, and for this purpose they appointed a levy of two hundred and fifty men. Neither of the Commissioners from Massachusetts agreed to

these votes. Bradstreet formally registered his dissent. And the Magistrates expressed their dissatisfaction, and voted that "they dared not to exercise their authority to levy forces within their jurisdiction to undertake a present war against Ninigret."

Sept. 24.

Thus the flame, that had scarcely been kept under, broke out afresh. The Commissioners of the three smaller colonies united, not only in confirming their recent action against the Nyantics, but in renewing their vote for war against the Dutch; and they passed a resolve that "the Massachusetts had actually broken their covenant."

Sept. 13. Before things had gone so far, the General Court of Massachusetts had addressed themselves directly to the governments of the other colonies, with a proposal for "a committee, to be chosen by each jurisdiction, to treat and agree upon such explanation or reconciliation of the Articles of Confederation as should be consistent with their true meaning." After six weeks, Connecticut and New Haven made a joint reply. They saw "no cause to choose or send a committee, either for explication or alteration of any of the Articles;" and they renewed the charge of "breach of league and covenant."

Nov. 1.

1654. March 7. Plymouth, after some months longer, sent a reply of the same import. Massachusetts answered each colony separately, and received from them a joint reply, prepared by New Haven.

June 6.

July 15.

Just at this time there arrived at Boston three or four ships, which, with a few troops, had been sent out by Cromwell under the command of Robert Sedgwick of Charlestown and John Leverett of Boston, for the conquest of New Netherland. June 5. They had a long passage, and were immediately followed by news of peace between England and Holland. Probably, so far as the relations with New Netherland were concerned, the prospect thus opened had a tendency to allay the dissension in the counsels of the Confederacy. Connecticut had chosen her Federal Commissioners at the accustomed time; and, after May 18. some debate on the question whether the Confederacy should be still sustained, New Haven July 5. and Plymouth followed the example, at the Aug. 1 same time instructing their representatives to endeavor to obtain satisfaction for the injury which was imputed. When the Commissioners met, Bradstreet and Denison, in behalf of Massachusetts, retracted the distinction which Sept. 7. had been made as to the sense of the Articles in respect to offensive and to defensive war, and owned the decisions of the Commissioners to be binding on each and every colony, so far as they were "in themselves just and according to God." The Commissioners accepted the explanation, and the strife seemed at an end.

Though no more proof of the alleged conspiracy between the Indians and the New Netherlanders had come to light, and the parent countries of the con

tending colonists had made peace, the proceedings of Ninigret, who was probably emboldened by information of the disagreement in the Confederacy, had, during the year, become more alarming. In Massachusetts, his conduct was regarded as indicating rather ill-temper and vexation than any settled design of mischief; yet, as such a design might easily follow, and his example of defiance in refusing to explain himself was dangerous, the Commissioners from that colony could no longer take the responsibility of obstructing active measures. To bring him to terms, a force of forty horsemen and two hundred and sixty foot-soldiers was sent into his country under the command of Major Willard. The expedition had no striking result. Probably the Massachusetts commander was not instructed to carry matters with a high hand. The weather was unfavorable for active operations. Ninigret had taken to a place in the woods, where it was hard to follow him. To two officers who found him he made some promises of "peaceable carriage." With these Willard determined to be content, and brought back his command to Boston after only fifteen days' absence. The Commissioners were disappointed and incensed at this slender result; but the government of Massachusetts was of the opinion that "the peace of the country, through the blessing of God upon the late expedition, was comfortably secured;" and on the whole it was found that the easiest way to protect the English

Oct. 9–13.

Oct. 18.

Oct. 24.

1655. Sept. 19.

and their native friends on Long Island against Ninigret's insults, was to give them a frugal supply of arms and ammunition, and employ a little vessel to cruise in the Sound and intercept his boats.

If the English found it necessary to watch against a constant danger from the uncertain humor of their Indian neighbors, they were not less thoughtful of promoting alike the comfort and the spiritual well-being of the inferior race. After the war with the Pequots, the captive survivors of that nation had been distributed among the Mohegans, the Narragansetts, and the Nyantics, who, for their services, engaged to pay a yearly tribute to the English. This guardianship was liable to abuse. The Pequots made complaints to the English of being ill-treated by their masters. The irregularity of the payments which had been made for them authorized the English to interfere, which they did by establishing the captives in settlements of their own, at the same time transferring to them the obligation of tribute, and releasing the governing tribes. To the communities thus formed, the Commissioners prescribed a simple system of laws, which they appointed native magistrates to administer.

The enthusiasm for the conversion of the natives to Christianity continued to grow and spread. The English "Society for the Promoting and Propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England" opened a correspondence 1650. Sept. 5.

with the Federal Commissioners, and made that body the superintendents of its local operations,— an arrangement which continued throughout the existence of the Confederacy. The society obtained liberal contributions in England. By the publication of a series of memoirs it solicited the public attention, and made reports of progress. In the seventh year after its incorporation, the sums which it had remitted to New England amounted to more than seventeen hundred pounds; and four years later its property yielded an annual income of six or seven hundred pounds. And New England people did not less, but more, in proportion than their countrymen in England.

The Commissioners placed themselves in relations with Eliot and Mayhew; and, as opportunity allowed, they employed others, Englishmen and natives, in the capacity of assistants to those missionaries, and in similar labors elsewhere. They selected young men to "be maintained at Cambridge, to be educated and fitted for future service, to be helpful in teaching such Indian children as should be taken into the college for that end." They authorized the erection of a building within the college enclosure for the accommodation of native pupils. They made provision for printing catechisms in the Indian languages. They furnished their chief missionaries with libraries. They encouraged some "deserving Indians" by small pecuniary bounties. In the eighth year of their administration of the trust, their

1651. Sept. 12.

1658. Sept. 22.

outlay amounted to five hundred and twenty pounds.

Eliot continued to be indefatigable, though in the face of discouragements such as even his sanguine temper could not always disregard. The chiefs of the great tribes all opposed him. His success could not fail to impair their authority. "Some tribute" the converts were still "willing to pay, but not as formerly;" and the Commissioners thought it prudent to instruct Eliot to "be slow in withdrawing Indian professors from paying accustomed tribute, and performing other lawful service to their sagamores."

The caution thus enforced upon him was scarcely to be reconciled with the execution of a scheme which he had entertained from the first, and which, as soon as possible, he proceeded to realize. He thought it material to collect his native followers into a separate society. He looked for some spot, "somewhat remote from the English, where the word might be constantly taught, and government constantly exercised, means of good subsistence provided, encouragements for the industrious, means of instructing them in letters, trades and labors, as building, fishing, flax and hemp dressing, planting orchards, etc." On Charles River, about eighteen miles west from Boston, he found a site, called by the Indians *Natick*, which appeared well suited to his purpose, and here he laid out a town. Along three streets parcels of land were enclosed, each sufficient for a dwelling, a garden, and

1650. July.

an orchard. A palisaded fort was erected, and a "common house," containing a hall where worship was conducted on Sundays, and a school was kept on other days.

Eliot anticipated no practical difficulty in carrying out his scheme of a government for his collected converts. "I propound this," he said, "as my general rule through the help of the Lord; they shall be wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things both in Church and State." He expounded
1651. to them the eighteenth chapter of Exodus, and they elected a "ruler of an hundred," two "rulers of fifties," and ten "rulers of tens," otherwise called *tithing-men*. A further step was to enter, with public solemnities, "into covenant
Sept. 24. with God and each other to be the Lord's people, and to be governed by the word of the Lord in all things." A similar community, less numerous, was collected at Punkapog, now Stoughton. It was for the advantage of all parties that such establishments should be under a wise superintendence; and Daniel Gookin, an Assist-
1656. ant, was chosen to be "ruler over the praying Indians in the colony of Massachusetts."

In the first communication of Thomas Mayhew,
1651. the younger, to the Society for Propagating
Oct. 16. the Gospel, he was able to report that on the island of Martha's Vineyard there were "an hundred ninety-nine men, women, and children that had professed themselves to be worshippers of the great and ever-living God." In the

next year the number of his converts had increased to "two hundred eighty-three In- 1652. Oct. 22 dians, not counting young children," and in two places public worship was conducted by natives on the Lord's day. The prospect which he had opened was clouded over by his premature death. A vessel in which, with some of 1657 Nov. his converts, he had embarked for England, was never heard of afterwards. But the enterprise was not abandoned. "Old Mr. Mayhew, his worthy father, struck in with his best strength and skill." At Sandwich, in Plymouth colony, lived Mr. Richard Bourne and Mr. William Leverich, both of whom followed, but with no striking success, in the steps of Eliot and Mayhew. In Connecticut, Mr. Richard Blindman preached to the remnant of the Pequots, and Mr. Abraham Pierson to his savage neighbors at Branford; but their diligence met with little reward. The great southern tribes of Wampanoags, Narragansetts, Nyantics, and Mohegans remained unimpressed with Christian truth.

The chief proceedings of the Commissioners, during the time of the most unrestricted freedom of the United Colonies, have been recorded in this and the last chapter. The course of affairs in the mother country, averting the danger of encroachment from that quarter, had relieved the Confederacy from the heaviest of the responsibilities that it had been devised to meet. Among the particulars of miscellaneous business brought before the Commissioners from time to time occur such

as are indicative of the generous comprehensiveness of their objects, confined, and at the same time illustrated, by their humble means. On information from the corporation of Harvard College that "the former college buildings were in a decaying condition," the Commissioners proposed to the colonies, "that by pecks, half-bushels, and bushels of wheat, according as men were free and able, the college might have some considerable yearly help." And "to the end that the works of God and his goodness, which had been great towards his people in their first planting of this desolate wilderness, might never be forgotten," they requested the several General Courts to collect memorials of the past, so that "some one fitly qualified might be appointed and desired to compose the same into a history, and prepare it for the press."

CHAPTER VIII.

SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND.

The plantations about Narragansett Bay were as yet incapable of a settled government. They needed first to learn by experience that social order is inconsistent with such an uncompromising *individualism* as they affected to maintain. Unorganized within themselves, they continued to have but a loose relation to the unity of New England.

It was known that Coddington had gone to England, in discontent at the state of things about him; but the special purpose of his voyage had not been disclosed. After an absence of two years and a half he returned, having obtained a "commission" from the Council of State to institute a separate government over the islands of Rhode Island and Conanicut. This government he was to administer during his life, with a Council to be composed of not more than six Assistants, who were to be nominated annually by "such freeholders of Newport and Portsmouth as should be well-affected to the government of the Commonwealth of England," — the choice, however, to be subject to the Governor's approval.

1651. August. April 3

Providence and Warwick were thus remanded to their original isolation. A large number of Coddington's own fellow-citizens, no fewer than sixty-five at Newport, and forty at Portsmouth, were opposed to the plan. One reason, at least, for so strong an opposition is to be found in religious partisanship.

A church of Baptists — or *Anabaptists*, as they were called by opponents — had been gath-
1644. ered at Newport about the seventh year after the beginning of the plantation. Coddington did not belong to it. Its principal member was John Clarke, who had already been, during most of the time, the religious teacher as well as the physician of the settlement.

Between Massachusetts and the Baptists there was no good-will. In the year when their church
Nov. 13 at Newport was founded, the General Court of that colony had passed a law for the banishment of Baptists on their conviction of certain overt acts. A preamble to the act recited, that "since the first arising of the Anabaptists, about a hundred years since, they have been the incendiaries of commonwealths." The name at this period denoted a person very different from a mere religious errorist. It still revived the memory of those flagitious proceedings in Germany which are referred to in the statute. The position of those who bore it was still esteemed to be threatening to social security. Winslow, indeed, had affirmed in England, that the law was designed always to remain

a dead letter, unless some extraordinary occasion should arise for its enforcement. And, at the time when it was passed, and for several years longer, a clergyman who denied the lawfulness of infant baptism was at the head of Harvard College, and his successor held that immersion was essential to the rite. Still the association between "Anabaptistry" and enmity to good order survived in the minds of the colonial rulers.

There can be no doubt that many of the sixty-five citizens of Newport and forty of Portsmouth who were disinclined to submit to the "commission" of Coddington, were of the Baptist persuasion. It is impossible that so clear-headed a man as Clarke should have overlooked the relation into which he and his party were brought by the new state of things. Coddington's desire for a connection with the Confederacy was no secret. Should he be permanently established in the local government according to the terms of his "commission," there could be no question that he would pursue that object. Perhaps he would even bring about a complete annexation to Massachusetts; but, should he do no more than become associated with her in the league of colonies, she would have acquired a power of molesting the large body of Baptists in Rhode Island, which power she might not be indisposed to use, as was proved by a recent transaction of hers with Plymouth, on a similar occasion. 1649 Oct. 18

Clarke saw his advantage for resistance to the

establishment of his rival's dominion. If Massachusetts was intolerant of Baptists, and if the execution of Coddington's scheme would place the Rhode Island Baptists more or less under her control, the necessity of self-defence would admonish them to defeat that scheme. Clarke knew that for seven years a law had existed in Massachusetts which his presence in that colony would affront. Indeed, seven years earlier yet, he had gone away under circumstances making it next to certain, that, if he had not departed voluntarily, he would have been expelled.

Fourteen years he was content to stay away from Massachusetts. In the fifteenth he was prompted to go thither. The time which he chose for his movement discloses the motive. The precise day of Coddington's arrival from England with his "commission" is not known. But it seems to have been when his arrival was expected from week to week, or even from day to day, that Clarke undertook his journey. Clarke was a man of influence and authority. His personal character, his sacred office, and his newly acquired position of Assistant in the government, placed him prominently before the people. He was a man of discernment and of action. He felt no reluctance to expose himself to personal inconvenience for the furtherance of what he accounted a good public object. And he judged well, that, at this moment some striking practical evidence of the hostility of Massachusetts to Baptists would be efficacious t

excite his Rhode Island friends to oppose the ascendency of Coddington.

With two companions, John Crandall, of Newport, and Obadiah Holmes, minister of a Baptist congregation at Seekonk, Clarke proceeded to Lynn, ten miles on the further side of Boston. The ostensible object was to visit a sick and aged friend, William Witter, who, "brother in the church" of Baptists as he was, had been living in Lynn unmolested. 1651. July 18.

The next day after the travellers reached their journey's end was Sunday, and Clarke was preaching to a small company in Witter's house, when two constables appeared with a warrant. They took him and his companions to the meeting-house of the town, where Clarke "put on his hat, and so sat down, opened his book, and fell to reading." They were sent to Boston for trial, and Clarke was sentenced to pay a fine of twenty pounds, Holmes of thirty pounds, and Crandall of five pounds, for holding a private service at Lynn; for disturbing the public service; for asserting "that the church of Lynn was not constituted according to the order of our Lord;" for "seducing and drawing aside of others;" and for what was considered offensive behavior in Court. July 31.

As was usual at that time, when a person fined had not property to be levied upon within the jurisdiction of the Court, they were further sentenced to be punished by whipping as the alternative. The gaoler paid Crandall's fine. Holmes

refused to have the same kindness done for him; it would have prevented the full effect he desired to produce. But it may be hoped that the minister of the law was instructed to do his office forbearingly, as Holmes said he was so little hurt that he "in a manner felt it not," and that he had been "struck as with roses." "Some friends" paid Clarke's fine, "contrary to his counsel," as he declared, and he went back to Newport, which place he must have reached in season to publish his experiences a very few days before or after the arrival there of Coddington with his "commission."

If, as is probable, arrangements were already in progress for Clarke to proceed to England to make interest for a reversal of the recent action of the government in Coddington's favor, there was yet another strong reason for his being provided with a recent case of persecution of Baptists by Massachusetts. In fact, before the winter, he sailed upon that mission. Exertions were at the same time made to speed the hitherto fruitless plan of despatching Williams as the envoy of the main-land settlements. But they effected nothing or little. He provided for himself by selling his property in the Indian country, and embarked for England at or about the same time with Clarke. Though acting for different parties, the business of both was to solicit a repeal of the order creating Coddington's government.

It is probable that Nicholas Easton had been rechosen President of the "Providence Planta-

tions," and that he abdicated that place when Coddington assumed the powers conferred by the "commission." The now truncated colony, consisting but of the two towns on the main-land, elected Gorton to be its President. He was succeeded in the next year by John Smith, of Warwick; and in the following spring the choice fell upon Gregory Dexter, of Providence, during whose term of office the four towns were reunited, as will be hereafter seen.

1653 May 16.

Williams and Clarke, leaving America after Gorton's election, reached London just before the breaking out of the Dutch war, and some months passed before they could secure attention. Sir Henry Vane interested himself in their behalf, and Coddington's "commission" was provisionally revoked by the Council of State, a year and a half after it had been issued. The instrument of revocation recited that intelligence had reached the Council of such misbehavior on the part of Coddington as had caused "the whole colony" to be "exposed as a prey to the Dutch, the enemies of the English Commonwealth." Clarke must have been as lucky as ingenious to satisfy the Council of the justness of this charge against his rival; but in consideration of this, and of other "great matters of complaint," perhaps equally well established, the Council authorized the "Magistrates and free inhabitants of Providence Plantations" to "take care for the peace and quiet thereof until further direction should be given by the Parliament

1652. Oct. 2.

or the Council." William Dyer, who had accompanied or followed the envoys, now leaving them in England, brought home the important fruit of their labors.

Dec.

Coddington was powerless, and withdrew; but his retirement helped little towards a resettlement. Everything seemed in unmanageable disorder. At Warwick, Gorton had his old friend Warner degraded from the place of Assistant and disfranchised, "upon suspicion of insufferable treachery." At Providence, the General Sergeant and Solicitor-General of the colony was arraigned and tried for treason. The instrument brought over by Dyer gave authority to the "magistrates and free inhabitants" to "take and seize Dutch ships and vessels," and recommended Dyer as "a fit man to be employed therein." Accordingly the Rhode Islanders set up privateering, and issued commissions to three officers for service against New Netherland; a measure which Providence and Warwick condemned, and they passed a vote disfranchising its friends. Of the officers chosen, one was Mrs. Hutchinson's eccentric disciple, John Underhill, who was not particular as to the colors under which he served, and who had been losing credit with his recent Dutch masters. Another was Dyer himself, who was "ruined by party contentions with Mr. Cottington," and in his necessity turned freebooter, if a representation of the town of Providence to Sir Henry Vane is to be credited, "plung

April.

Dec.

1653. May 24.

ing himself and some others in most unnecessary and unrighteous plundering, both of Dutch and French, and English also." Captain Hull interpreted his commission from Rhode Island so liberally as to capture a French ship. Captain Baxter seized a vessel belonging to the town of Barnstable in Plymouth colony. The same commander took a Dutch prize into Fairfield, in New Haven, whither he was pursued by two Dutch armed vessels, who proceeded to blockade the port. The distracted community was fertile in ways of being troublesome to its neighbors.

The removal of Coddington's *obstruction*, as it was called, should have been a restoration of the order of things established under Williams's patent for the "Providence Plantations." But how to bring this about, when disagreement with one another and within themselves was the normal condition of these plantations? The main-landers and the islanders could not even agree upon a place where they should meet to receive the order from the Council of State; and, determined alike to have their own way or none, Newport and Portsmouth chose one board of Magistrates, and Providence and Warwick another, to administer the government over the four towns.

In this condition they were found by Roger Williams when he came from England, a year and a half after sending over the Council's order. He told them frankly of the bad reputation they had established wherever they were

1654. June.

known, and implored them not to persist in "disfranchising humanity and love." Aided by a letter which he brought from Sir Henry Vane, rebuking them with that eloquence which Vane could command and with a severity in some proportion to their deserts, Williams prevailed to obtain a hearing; the government, as it had been constituted seven years before under his own patent, was restored, and again Williams, as President, was elected to put it in operation.

Sept. 12.

At or about this time there were two hundred and forty-seven freemen in the four towns; namely, ninety-six in Newport, seventy-one in Portsmouth, forty-two in Providence, and thirty-eight in Warwick. Measures, successful after three or four years, were in train for rounding the colony by the adjustment of the long dispute respecting Pawtuxet. Massachusetts was getting tired of asserting her claim, and the original purpose of it had long ago been answered. Plymouth was no less indifferent. The number of English at Pawtuxet had been reduced by removals, till only four heads of families remained. Two of these desired to attach themselves to the new government; the other two did not care to oppose; and Pawtuxet became again an appendage of Providence, as it had originally been.

1655. Nov.

Williams had a troubled administration of two years. The license, which in his green age he had encouraged, was now too strong for

1654-1655.

him to control. There was a riot at Providence, "under pretence of a voluntary training." A reforming citizen addressed a letter to the town, maintaining that it was "blood-guiltiness, and against the rule of the gospel, to execute judgment upon transgressors against the public or private weal." A law against striking any person in Court indicates a certain rudeness of intercourse. The colony being "rent and torn with divisions," an order passed for sending ringleaders to be tried in England. Coddington was suspected of being hostile to the government, and even of furnishing arms to the Indians. Harris, who had been one of Williams's early associates and friends, published arguments not only against "the authority of his Highness," the Lord Protector, but against the rightful existence of "all earthly powers, ... and in open Court protested, before the whole Colony Assembly, that he would maintain his writings with his blood." Williams had him arraigned for high treason. But it would seem that the President miscalculated his power; for, the annual election taking place at this time, he was superseded in the chief magistracy by Benedict Arnold, of Pawtuxet, the young man who, as interpreter for the Indians, had incurred the hatred of Gorton's party. Williams was never again employed in any office higher than that of Assistant. Nor did Coddington, Coggeshall, or Easton, for several years afterwards, occupy any higher station.

1655. June 30.

1656. March 11

1657. May 19.

The most important of the events which occurred in New England in the years that immediately followed the confederation took place, as they have been related, in Massachusetts and on Narragansett Bay. In the three smaller confederate colonies, the tranquil course of events has left less to be recorded. Plymouth, the nearest neighbor of the turbulent settlers on Narragansett Bay, was unaspiring and poor. Her government was careful to keep on good terms with the rising power in England. In the next summer after the King's execution, the freemen unanimously concluded to con-

1649. June 6. tinue the existing administration in place, without a new choice; a course probably adopted because the royal authority was recognized in the oaths of office which had been in use.

1652. March 2. Plymouth kept a day of thanksgiving for Cromwell's victory at Worcester, and made preparations to engage in his war with the Dutch, and to assist in his projected expedition to New Netherland.

At the end of the first twenty-five years of the town of Plymouth, its importance in relation to the rest of the colony of that name had been much diminished. "Many having left the place, by reason of the straitness and barrenness of the same, and their finding of better accommodations elsewhere, ... the church began seriously to think whether it were not better jointly to remove to some other place. . . . . Many meetings and much consultation was held hereabout;" the

result of which was, that "the greater part consented to a removal," and several families established themselves at Nauset, which town — the ninth in the colony — took, a few years later, the name of *Eastham*. But if the town had suffered a decline, and the church was dispersed, the colony, in the measure of its scanty means, was prosperous and energetic; and no member of the Confederacy was more prompt and liberal in its offerings to the common welfare. 1644 1651.

Through Winslow's assiduity, Plymouth obtained from Parliament a confirmation and enlargement of its property on the Kennebec, and Thomas Prince was despatched to that river to organize a local administration, to be conducted by himself and Assistants chosen by the inhabitants. In the month of Cromwell's death, a second revised collection of the laws of Plymouth was published by the General Court. It was prefaced by a declaration that no other laws were of authority within the jurisdiction, but such as were "imposed by consent of the body of associates, or their representatives legally assembled." The freemen of the eleven towns that constituted the colony were now about three hundred in number. No person could become an inhabitant without the permission of the municipal authorities; and the right of expulsion was freely exercised. The churches were not so flourishing, nor so well provided with a ministry, as those of the other confederate colonies. 1654. March 7. 1658. Sept.

The General Court repeatedly took measures to stimulate the towns to their duty in this respect, and on one occasion Massachusetts went so far as to make the remissness of Plymouth the subject of a representation to the Federal Commissioners.

In New Haven and Connecticut, the Indians near the towns were more numerous than in Massachusetts and Plymouth; but the disturbances made by them, though not infrequent, were seemingly without plan, and the simple methods of repression which became necessary were dictated by local exigencies. The new settlement of Branford, a few miles east of New Haven, and that of Farmington, a short distance from Hartford, to the west, brought the two colonies nearer to each other. But a more important extension of the settlements of Connecticut was made in the opposite direction, under the auspices of a man who brought to her a large accession of means and of character.

In the year of the confederation, John Winthrop, the younger, son of the Governor of Massa-
1643. chusetts, returned to that colony from England. He "brought with him a thousand pounds stock, and divers workmen, to begin an iron-work." He formed a joint-stock company, and began operations at Braintree. But, though favored by the General Court with bounties and immunities, the enterprise miscarried, and, after three years, Winthrop transferred his attention to a different object. With Thomas Peter, brother of Hugh

Peter, of Salem, he began, at the mouth of the Pequot River, a plantation, which the General Court gave them authority "for ordering and governing till further order." It lay within the territory which was known to be claimed by Connecticut, by right of conquest from the Pequots. But "it mattered not to which jurisdiction it did belong, seeing the confederation made all as one; but it was of great concernment to have it planted, to be a curb to the Indians, etc." It was at the very doors of Uncas, who, with all motives for obsequiousness to the English, had to be looked after with a sleepless eye. Winthrop desired to have his settlement remain a dependency of Massachusetts; but the Commissioners decided that it belonged to Connecticut, and from that colony he presently received a commission to govern it. Davenport and his friends at New Haven urged him strongly to take up his abode with them, partly on account of his skill in medicine; while Roger Williams, in the woods on the other side, cherished the hope that some turn of affairs might attach Winthrop's settlement to the Narragansett towns, and make him their governor. 1646. 1647. July 26 Sept. 9.

A system of written law for Connecticut bears an early date. A compilation was made of existing statutes, with additions from the code of Massachusetts. It was prefaced by a Bill of Rights, which was but a transcript of that of the older colony 1650. May.

Connecticut increased more rapidly than any other of the confederate colonies, except Massachusetts. Near the eastern border, the settlement at the mouth of Pequot River, before long to be known by the name of *New London*, was acquiring
1649-1651. importance. The buildings and works at Saybrook were restored after a fire. East
1649. Nov. 7. Hampton, a fishing-station near the eastern end of Long Island, was annexed to the colony. On a little stream which empties into the
1650. June. sound, some twenty families from Hartford made a settlement, to which they gave the name of *Norwalk*. Middletown, on Connecticut
1653. Nov. River, was founded by a party collected from Hartford and Wethersfield, with others from Massachusetts, and a few just arrived from England. Including Southampton and East Hampton, on Long Island, Connecticut had now twelve towns. Seven hundred and seventy-five persons were taxed in the colony, and their aggregate property was valued at seventy-nine thousand pounds.

Connecticut embraced with eagerness the scheme of the Protector for the conquest of New Netherland. On the arrival of the fleet despatched
1654. June 13. by Cromwell for that purpose, messengers were despatched to offer the colony's share of a confederate force of fifteen hundred men. From her position Connecticut was especially exposed to annoyance from the marauders commissioned by Rhode Island. One of them, Baxter, being caught within the limits of the colony, was

sentenced to restore his Barnstable prize, and to pay heavy damages, besides a fine of fifty pounds for his "insolent carriages." Underhill sailed up to the Dutch house at Hartford, and posted upon it a notice that it was seized by him as belonging to "enemies of the Commonwealth of England." He sold it twice over, and made conveyances of it to two parties. But the Magistrates "sequestered and reserved it," paying no attention to his claim.

April 6. 1653. June 27. 1654. April 6

After the death of Haynes, and the departure of Hopkins from the colony, Thomas Welles and John Webster were each at the head of the government for one year. A higher degree of capacity than theirs was probably desired for the highest place; and the choice next fell upon John Winthrop, of New London. His administration of that office, connected with a long series of important events, was inaugurated by transactions indicative of the orderly and vigorous policy of the community over which he was to preside. The General Court by which he was elected was the first to carry into effect a rule to submit the question of the admission of every freeman to the vote of the central government of the colony. It raised a troop of horse, the first that had been enrolled. And in Winthrop's first year of office, the ecclesiastical policy of Massachusetts was followed in a law forbidding the formation of a church "without consent of the General Court, and approbation of the neighbor churches." Connecticut, at

1657. May 21.

her separate charge, employed missionaries among the Indians; and she was a liberal patron of Harvard College.

The protracted disputes with the Dutch and Indians, which have been mentioned as agitating the two youngest members of the Confederacy, bore especially hard upon New Haven. When that colony despaired of the coöperation of Massachusetts in hostilities against New Netherland, it proceeded to solicit the Lord General, both by letters and by a special messenger. The intelligence of the arrival at Boston of the expedition under Sedgwick and Leverett gave the liveliest satisfaction to the people of New Haven. They levied a rate of two hundred pounds, raised a force of a hundred and thirty-three men, and pressed vessels for transports. The colony, extending so far westward as to include Greenwich on the Dutch border, now comprehended seven towns, being the largest number that it ever possessed.

1653. Oct. 12.

June 9.

June 23.

1656. Oct. 6.

The policy of New Haven as to the public expenditure was generous. Magistrates were liberally provided for. Before the earliest town was ten years old, it had projected the establishment of a college. It "raised above three hundred pound to encourage the work," and Milford pledged another hundred. The scheme proved to be premature; and for the present these distant plantations were content to expend their judicious bounty on the college of the older colony, to which

1655.

the Governor did not fail frequently to invite their attention, reminding them to send their yearly contributions of corn. Before the first English child born in New Haven had attained its majority, "it was propounded that the Court would think of some way to further the setting up of schools for the education of youth." Still earlier, the town had "provided that a schoolmaster should be maintained at the public charge, and Milford had made provision in a comfortable way." And imitation of the example was, by an order of the General Court, soon enforced on all the towns of the colony. 1657. May 27.

The tranquillity which succeeded in New Haven to the preparations for Dutch and Indian wars had given opportunity for the completion of a body of laws. In compliance with a request of the General Court, Governor Eaton presented a compilation of such earlier orders as he considered "most necessary to continue." He was desired to have it printed in London, after comparing it with the Massachusetts laws and the compend of John Cotton, and, with the approbation of the elders, making such additions "as he should think fit;" — a singular illustration of the confidence reposed in him and his clerical advisers. The code contains none of the provisions known in New England fable under the name of *Blue Laws*. The existence of such laws as have been called by that name is, as has been already told, the fabrication of a refugee clergyman of Connecticut late in the eighteenth century. 1655. May 30

CHAPTER IX.

LAST YEARS OF THE FOUNDERS.

After the death of Governor Winthrop, John Endicott was always, except during two years chief magistrate of Massachusetts, till, at the age of seventy-seven, he died. During this period Dudley and Bellingham each filled the office for one term. In the administrations of both, Endicott was Deputy-Governor; and when Endicott held the first place, Dudley held the second, till the last year of his own life, as Bellingham did after that time without interruption.

1650.

1654.

By many titles Dudley might seem to be marked as Winthrop's natural successor. But he was already old when Winthrop died, and it is probable that infirmities had overtaken him. Bellingham was a man of great capacity, and at a later period rendered excellent service. But the native impetuosity of his character was not yet tempered by years, and it may be supposed that his course of factious opposition to Winthrop had brought upon him an amount of displeasure which time was needed to overcome. By some of the statesmanlike qualities of his admirable predecessor, Endicott was not distinguished. But if he would

not have been competent to strike out a new path, he had steadiness and courage to advance in that which had been opened and levelled for him. Boston had almost always hitherto been the Governor's residence; and it may be that in the election of Endicott the rival claim of Essex County obtained consideration.

The period which began with the Commonwealth of England, and reached beyond it by five years, might be called, in relation to Massachusetts, the period of Endicott's administration; since within that time he was scarcely discharged from the chief magistracy often enough to suggest that it was not intended to be vested for life. During the first half of the time, Massachusetts extended her confines in two opposite directions.

Between the Paucatuck River, which now makes part of the western boundary of the State of Rhode Island, and the Mystic River, by which stood the Pequot fort destroyed by Captain Mason, a tract had been selected for a plantation by William Chesebrough, who went thither from Rehoboth. He was joined by others; and the question having arisen whether his settlement belonged to Connecticut or to Massachusetts, which latter colony claimed it as part of her share in the spoil of the Pequot war, the Federal Commissioners were appealed to by the parties. They decided that the Mystic should be the boundary between the respective portions of the conquered soil; and Chesebrough's settlement, known in later times 1649.

as *Stonington*, received from the General Court of Massachusetts a municipal organization with the name of *Southertown*.

While Massachusetts thus spread herself southwardly to Long Island Sound, she received a large accession of territory on the northeast. Maine and Lygonia, provinces separated by the River Kennebunk, and belonging respectively to Gorges and to Rigby, had been neglected by their proprietors amid the distractions of the times. In both provinces there were numbers who were dissatisfied with the existing lax state of things. Some desired a different settlement under new charters; others were inclined to follow the example of the Piscataqua towns, and place themselves under the government of Massachusetts. The charter of Massachusetts granted a territory having for its northern boundary a line extending westward from the Atlantic Ocean, on a parallel of latitude three miles north of the most northerly part of the River Merrimack. The General Court had obtained some knowledge of the geography of the region, and of their apparent right under this clause to lands earlier granted to themselves, but now claimed by the representatives of Gorges and Rigby. Present circumstances plainly favored their producing the claim, and obtaining a recognition of it, which would be for the advantage of the settlers as well as for their own. Commissioners sent to Maine first obtained, though not without opposition, the submission of the inhabitants of Kittery, a settlement which had

grown up at the mouth of the Piscataqua, opposite to Strawberry Bank (Portsmouth). Kittery was constituted by the Commissioners a town of Massachusetts, within a new "county or shire, which was called by the name of Yorkshire." The inhabitants received the franchise of the colony on the sole condition of taking the freeman's oath, independent of the religious or any other test, and were authorized to send two Deputies to the General Court. 1652. Nov. 20.

Such liberal dealing was followed by what must be supposed to have been its intended effect. The inhabitants of Agamenticus gladly accepted the same terms as had been made with Kittery, and their town received the name of *York*. The next year a similar course was taken with the three principal settlements further east; namely, Wells, Saco, and Cape Porpoise (now Kennebunk Port). They also were incorporated into the County of York, though without the privilege, as yet, of being represented in the General Court. Another enlargement soon took place, which extended the dominion of Massachusetts to the shores of Casco Bay. The planters at Black Point, at Spurwink, at Blue Point (which received the name of *Scarborough*), and at Casco Bay (which assumed that of *Falmouth*), took the oath of allegiance to Massachusetts, and received its franchise. They were but twenty-nine in number, and thirteen of them signed the oath with a mark. Nov. 22. 1653. July 4. 1658. July 13.

Such a steady extension of a domain won by herself from the wilderness was more alluring to Massachusetts than were other prospects which were opened to her by the friendship of the ruler of England. When Cromwell had conquered Ireland, and had next to consider how it was to be kept in subjection and in order, he bethought himself of the Puritans across the water, now probably some thirty thousand in number, and he made overtures for their establishment in the sister island. But his proposal was not received with favor. They had taken root where they were, and there, in their judgment, the objects of greatest interest to them might be best pursued. Perhaps they did not overlook the possibility of a not distant restoration of the old order of things in Great Britain. Endicott wrote to Cromwell for the General Court, that

1651. Oct. they were enjoying health, plenty, peace, the liberty and ordinances of the gospel, and an opportunity for spreading the knowledge of it among savages; and that, content with these blessings, they had no desire to change their abode.

Cromwell sought their services in another sphere.

1655. May 10. He had wrested from Spain the West Indian island of Jamaica. Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, was one of his commissioners in charge of the expedition, and John Sedgwick, of Massachusetts, was made governor of the island. Jamaica had only fifteen hundred white inhabitants. Daniel Gookin, who was then in London was sent home by Cromwell, with proposals to the

people of New England to emigrate to his new possession. "He did apprehend," he told them, "the people of New England had as clear a call to transport themselves from thence to Jamaica, as they had from England to New England, in order to their bettering their outward condition, God having promised his people should be the head, and not the tail; besides that design had his tendency to the overthrow of the man of sin." He offered them lands on the easiest terms, immunity from taxes and customs for a period of years, free transportation, and other inducements. But he proposed himself to appoint their highest magistrates; and this alone would have been an insurmountable obstacle, had there been no other, to their acceptance of his offer. The Court returned "their thankful acknowledgment of his Highness's favor," and assured him that he should always have their prayers; but, with periphrastic phraseology, such as they could trust him to understand, they declined to engage themselves in his plan. 1656. Oct. 24.

They might well be satisfied with their condition and their prospects. Everything was prospering with them. They had established comfortable homes, which they felt strong enough to defend against any power but the power of the mother country; and that now was friendly. They had always the good will of Cromwell. In relation to them he allowed his Navigation Act, which pressed hard on the loyalist colonists further south,

to become a dead letter; and they received the commodities of all nations free of duty, and sent their ships at will to the ports of continental Europe. For twenty years there had been no serious dissension in Church or State; the affairs of both had, on the whole, been conducted to the general content. There had been time for attachment to the soil to mature; for a sense of national character to be formed; for society to be moulded into such a shape as makes it strong and thrifty through the fit action of its members in their several places. Prescription had both familiarized and legitimated the methods of local administration. The education of the rising generation had been provided for. Every child old enough to leave its mother's side was at school. Ninety-eight young men had been trained at the college by teachers who had been ornaments of the great English seats of learning.

It is impossible not to admire the wisdom of those who watched over the honor and interests of Massachusetts during that period of her history which coincides with the ascendency of the mysterious Dictator of England. To his Council for the Colonies she carefully forbore to make any such solicitation as would have been an acknowledgment of its authority. When England made Cromwell a monarch, Massachusetts preserved a steady silence. He went to war with the Dutch, and proposed to her to help him conquer the Dutch colony on her border: treating the demand as subject to her own consent or refusal, she "gave liberty to

his Highness's commissioners" to enroll five hundred volunteers, if they could find so many. Informed by her agent in England that there was a scheme for requiring a new patent for her domain to be taken out, and courts to be kept in the name of Parliament, she waited for the favorable time to reply, and finding it when the war between England and Holland broke out, proclaimed the chartered right of her people "to live under the government of a Governor and Magistrates of their own choosing, and under laws of their own making." 1651. Oct. 24. 1652. Oct. 23.

It was within this period that Massachusetts undertook to exercise the sovereign prerogative of coining money. The brisk trade with the West Indies introduced a quantity of Spanish silver; and along with it there was "much counterfeit coin brought into the country, and much loss accruing in that respect." The General Court established a mint, and appointed John Hull, a goldsmith, to be mint-master. He was to receive "bullion, plate, or Spanish coin," and convert it "into twelve-penny, six-penny, and three-penny pieces," each of which was to contain three quarters as much silver as the English sterling coin of the same denomination. This coinage was continued for more than thirty years, and different dies were in use from time to time; but all the money of the denominations now specified preserved the date of the year when the mint was established. Ten years later, a coinage began of 1652. June 10.

pieces of the value of two pence, which likewise always bore the name of the year when the pieces of that denomination were first issued.

The course of many of the principal founders had now been run. Bradford was in his sixty-eighth year when he died, having been for thirty-seven years the foremost man of Plymouth Colony, and having, by several years, survived Brewster, his earliest friend among the colonists. Standish, the soldier of the colony, had died a few months before him. Edward Winslow had not returned to finish his days in Plymouth. Associated by Cromwell with the General and Admiral in the conduct of the expedition against the Spanish West Indies, he sickened and died, a few days before it effected the conquest of Jamaica. In New Haven, the services and the life of Theophilus Eaton were brought to a close together; in Connecticut, the services and the life of John Haynes; in Massachusetts, those of Thomas Dudley and John Cotton. Edward Hopkins died in England in high office, having left Connecticut four years before, with the intention of only a short absence.

1657 May 9.
1656. Oct. 3.
1655. May 8.
1658. Jan. 7.
1654. March 1.
1653. July 31.
1652. Dec. 23.
1657. March.

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